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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 August 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## BULGARIA

### ZHIVKOV 1980-81 SPEECHES, MESSAGES PUBLISHED

AU291733 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jul 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Party Publishing House has published selected works by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, covering the period from September 1980 to May 1981. These works are composed of speeches, articles, greetings to international forums in Bulgaria and abroad, and congratulations to Bulgarian and foreign political and public figures as well as to eminent representatives of Bulgarian science and culture on the occasion of their anniversaries. These works, which are arranged in chronological order, comprise complete volume--the 31st in a series.

This book also includes the BCP accountability report to the 12th BCP Congress in which the future tasks of the party were outlined. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's closing speech to the 12th BCP Congress is also included.

Under the title: "With the Efforts and Willpower of All Peoples--To a Staunch Struggle for Lasting and Just Peace," Todor Zhivkov's speech to the opening of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, which was held in Sofia in September 1980, is also published.

"Friendship for Centuries"--this is the title of the interview given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to a correspondent of the Soviet daily IZVESTIYA in connection with the 13 century jubilee of the Bulgarian state's foundation. This interview is a political synthesis which traces and gives meaning to Bulgaria's path throughout the centuries, emphasizing the tremendous achievements during the years of socialist building and particularly in the period following the party's April plenum. It also outlines Bulgaria's consistent policy of comprehensively drawing closer to the Soviet Union and of ever closer cooperation with the other socialist countries. Comrade Todor Zhivkov made use of this jubilee occasion in order to again express the deep love and gratitude for the Soviet Union and for the Soviet people who are our liberator and a mainstay in building a socialist society.

The book also includes the article: "A Speech for the Party of Lenin," published in the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in February 1981. In this article written on the occasion of the 26th CPSU Congress, the particular position of the Leninist party in the international communist movement is emphasized and profoundly justified due to its high prestige, to the realistic effect of its experience on the other communist parties, and due to its tremendous contribution to the common communist cause.

The latest volume of the selected works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov contains further and numerous evidences of the consistent efforts of the party, state, and of our first leader, personally to successfully and promptly resolve the socio-economic tasks facing the Bulgarian society. The care for the well-being of the people, for the development and improvement of socialist democracy and for the flourishing of intellectual culture also appears in his works. The book brightly expresses the activity and consistent love for peace of our country as well as its genuine and fruitful striving for international understanding and cooperation.

CSO: 2200/171

## ANTICIPATED PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS IN NUCLEAR WAR

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 6, 1984 pp 10-11

[Article by Prof Vasil Milev, doctor of medical sciences, Dr Dimitur Mikhov, colonel docent, and Nikola Karakunev, candidate of medical sciences: "Psychogenic Reactions in Nuclear Explosions; We Talk About Man in a Critical Situation"]

[Text] Included in our talk are specialists in psychiatry and neurosurgery from the Higher Military Medical Institute. They tell what disturbances of human mental activity are possible when man is placed in extraordinary conditions and how heightening of his mental stability can be influenced.

The pathogenic effects of a nuclear explosion on the human organism and personality are extremely diverse and multistage. The scope and intensity of the somatic and psychic changes depend on the whereabouts of the individual at the time of the explosion, personality structure, age, sex, advance information about expected injuries, any training exercises that have been conducted, the resulting public panic, the social role and position of the individual, etc.

Combined and associated injuries are typical. We have designated the combination of every possible injury to the most diverse tissues, organs or systems as well as to the nervous system and mental activity by the concept of the mosaic syndrome (V. Milev). Some of the disorders, their picture and duration, and the combination thereof are characterized by multiformity and uniqueness.

The incredible power, the grandeur and rapid coverage of vast territories and the physical phenomena in a nuclear explosion, the light intensity, etc., cause --in addition to direct radiation and other physical effects--psychogenic reactions of differing type, severity and duration.

Mental disorders in the event of a nuclear explosion not only accompany injuries but can also appear independently in the absence of any radiobiological effects or mechanical and other injuries whatsoever. What is more, in some cases they might partially or more fully mimic the clinical picture of radiation sickness. Such a possibility has given the Soviet psychiatrist A. M. Svyadoshch grounds for voicing the hypothesis of the existence of what he calls hysterical (psychogenic) pseudoradiation sickness.

The importance of the mental disturbances appearing most frequently in the form of psychogenic reactions that will be observable during a nuclear catastrophe is inconceivably great. In fact, in any nuclear war mental disturbances may have a central and leading place. We can assert that some of those remaining alive will develop one or another psychogenic reaction or psychopathological syndrome. In support of our thesis we can cite the devastating earthquake in Skopje that occurred on 26 June 1963. The epicenter of the 10-point quake was in the city square which was completely destroyed in only 20 seconds. Most of the city's inhabitants believed that a nuclear war had begun. According to data of Yugoslav authors D. Petrovic and M. Popovic, acute reactive mental states (mainly of an affective-stuporous character) gripped almost all inhabitants of Skopje to a greater or lesser degree. These mental disturbances passed relatively quickly in 20 percent of the population; in 70 percent they lasted from a few hours to 2-3 days, while in the remaining 10 percent the acute mental changes were so pronounced that they required urgent medical care and treatment.

We can assume that a sudden nuclear war will cause crisis reactions and other mental disturbances in everybody who remains alive. These in turn can lead to panic, confusion and gross violations of public order. It is this that necessitates placing special emphasis on the great role of psychiatry not only in peacetime, but also in wartime. With reason the Soviet psychiatrist F. I. Ivanov writes of the appearance of a possible psychotraumatic focus in the event of a thermonuclear conflict.

We divide psychogenic reactions tentatively into two basic groups: 1) normal mental and 2) psychopathological, with many transitions in between. In normal mental reactions we include transient crisis states, stress, fear, terror, anxiety, panic, precipitate acts, etc. All these states are characteristic of mentally well persons thrust into an unusual or extreme situation. Some of these manifestations quickly fade away, others take on a protracted (prolonged) character, while yet others represent a transition or the first symptoms of morbid (psychopathological) reactions.

We subdivide the psychopathological syndromes that break out during a nuclear explosion into nonpsychotic mental reactions and psychotic states. The former, i.e. nonpsychotic states, do not [sic! Affirmative seems called for here] include pathological stress, also designated as distress, neurotic reactions, neuroses and neurotic developments, psychopathoid states, psychosomatic disturbances, etc. The psychotic pictures are very diverse, too. They take in almost the whole of psychopathology, and first and foremost exogenously caused psychopathology. Various states of confusion, designated as quantitative changes in consciousness, are possible: obnubilation (clouded state of the mind), semisomnus, somnolence (sleepiness), sopor and coma (complete loss of consciousness); and qualitative disturbances of the consciousness: delirium (frenzy), amentia (state of confusion), twilight states of the consciousness, trance, absentia epileptica, somnambulism, special states of the consciousness, etc. Psychogenic beclouding of the consciousness can most frequently be expected by itself or combined with other disturbances. Meriting special attention among these is chaotic psychomotor excitement, also known as fugiform reaction (ambulatory automatism). Possible besides are psychogenic surdimutism



(deaf-mutism) or blindness, psychogenic stupor (torpor), pseudodementia or Ganser's syndrome (psychogenic syndrome with absurd childish behavior), but psychogenic affective reactions are more frequent. They take the form of irrepressible weeping, histrionics, demonstrativeness, tearing of the hair, rending of clothing, throwing oneself on the ground. Various hysterical seizures occur in combination or by themselves. Hysterical behavior can also ensue.

Depressive states are relatively more frequent. They are neurotic, more rarely psychotic, take their course with the most diverse manifestations and fluctuate in duration in a very wide range. Mental disturbances can also be manifested by euphoric states (unaccountably elated mood and well-being), setting of excessively high values, paranoid (with ideas and notions of persecution) or hallucinatory-paranoid pictures (with visual, auditory and other sensations), but they are extremely rare. The whole range of mental and psychopathological reactions, states and permanently formed pictures changes markedly with an augmentation of symptoms and syndromes, an increase in their complexity or vice versa--a merging thereof if bodily, physical injuries of varying kind and degree are present. All these psychogenic reactions and derangements of the mind develop suddenly and last for minutes, hours and more rarely up to several days.

To prevent and remedy such injuries to the psyche if they appear, the victim can be influenced by psychotherapy, tranquilizers and neuroleptics used in small doses. Medical agencies in the Civil Defense System must be prepared to use them.

Of great significance for limiting the psychic effect of nuclear weapons is the population's moral and political state. The socialist social order with its ideological and moral buttresses creates preconditions for establishing high psychic resistance to stress factors in any nuclear war. Nevertheless, work must constantly be done, employing the familiar ways and methods of maintaining and enhancing the sense of patriotism and readiness to encounter every possible difficulty and danger. For this purpose a number of examples of high psychic resistance displayed in our recent and more remote history can be used.

In addition, the civilian population must be aware that despite the highly destructive qualities of nuclear weapons, reliable means of protection exist that must be studied and employed. Of great importance for this purpose are various types of practice and teaching exercises within the Civil Defense System for protection of the population against weapons of mass destruction. It is especially beneficial when these exercises are conducted under challenging conditions--lavish simulated situation, difficulties to be overcome, light and sound effects similar to those there will be in an actual situation.

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SURVEY OF POLITICAL, PROPAGANDA WORK IN CIVIL DEFENSE

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 6, 1984 pp 12-13

[Article by Col (reserve) Neno Mikhov, specialist from Propaganda Department of Party Political Apparatus of Civil Defense of Bulgarian People's Republic: "Urgent and Effective!"]

[Text] Upcoming Review of Visual Propaganda and Political Artwork; Significant Successes and Unjustifiable Weaknesses; All Forces and Resources for Overcoming Deficiencies

The overall mass-political work within the Civil Defense System would be very poor without visual propaganda and political artwork. With its most diverse aids, visual propaganda informally and speedily informs personnel about the political ideas and decisions of the party, the orders of the NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic] GO [Civil Defense] chief and specific civil defense skills. It summons and mobilizes the population to active participation in civil-defense staff measures, in the development of socialist competition, in the accomplishment of pledges made by men and commanders, in the popularization of pacemaker experience. It is precisely for this reason that the NRB Civil Defense Command and Party Political Apparatus are organizing a review of visual propaganda and political artwork dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Ninth of September Socialist Revolution.

In view of the direct effectiveness of visual propaganda and its role in the mobilization of staffs, services, formations and the population for the performance of civil defense tasks, many okrug, obshtina, municipal and project staffs in recent years have made considerable efforts to improve its content, forms and quality. The okrug staffs in Burgas, Varna, Vratsa, Veliko Turnovo, Gabrovo, Kyustendil, Pazardzhik, Pleven, Razgrad, Tolbukhin, Shumen, etc., have built up favorable experience in this regard. In some okrugs and obshtinas work is strenuously under way to build centers for the dissemination of civil defense skills.

The examples show that visual propaganda has greater success in projects of the national economy. Effective visual propaganda with a strong emotional charge

has been created at the Il'ovoyvoda Plant in Kyustendil with the active participation of party committee and economic management. In the plant yard two showcases have been done up in which posters, slogans, diagrams and photographs of the formations' activity are posted. The inside visual propaganda, set up in a spot by which all workers and employees in the plant pass, is very diverse and effective. There is a well-dressed showcase there in which are placed the banners and certificates received for active participation in civil defense measures, extracts from the order of the NRB Civil Defense chief for the training year, and collective socialist-competition pledges. For every formation there is a photo display board reflecting its activity. With its well-done visual civil-defense propaganda the plant can serve as an example.

In a number of okrug staffs such as Veliko Turnovo, Gabrovo, Kyustendil, Pleven and Khaskovo, political artwork has improved, too. But it is at the highest ideological and artistic level in Shumen Okrug.

In recent years exhibits of photos, posters, drawings and paintings, cartoons, children's drawings, etc., have been organized in Vratsa, Sliven, Razgrad, Veliko Turnovo, Sofia and other okrugs. Such exhibits are usually opened on the eve of the anniversary of the establishment of Civil Defense, before and during training exercises and major activities.

The initiative of the okrug staffs in Gabrovo, Pleven and Ruse is praiseworthy; in order to prolong the usable time of training displays and slogans, they have used decorative Getinaks [plastic insulator] from the electric insulation materials plant in Ruse.

But despite these successes we must report that the possibilities of visual propaganda in the Civil Defense System are still not used to their full extent. There are cities, villages and projects of the national economy where no visual materials have been posted to train the population and the national economy in protection against weapons of mass destruction or in the event of natural calamity and major industrial accident. And where there are any, they are often of unsightly external appearance, reflect noncurrent dates and events and have not been replaced for months. Often photo exhibits are staged in which shots are of small size, display boards are not protected by glass and are exposed to atmospheric influences, for which reason they are quickly discarded. There are also staffs that are concerned about artwork only when they face a major event or inspection. Their care for the preservation and rational use of the materials sent them by the Propaganda Department is deficient.

The rich possibilities of visual propaganda are not adequately used to popularize the experience of pacesetters, to publicize socialist competition and to condemn negative phenomena.

The reason for this is serious weaknesses in the organization and management of visual propaganda. Staffs and offices of party organizations do not systematically and singlemindedly concern themselves with this important activity; they underestimate its role and importance and leave only one person to do it. Visual propaganda is entrusted to people who are not up to it. Specialists--artists and designers--are not sought out.

The building of centers for the dissemination of civil-defense skills lags behind in okrug cities.

What must be done for the decisive improvement of the state of civil-defense visual propaganda, for it to be able to perform its role of propagandist and educator of men and commanders?

In keeping with specific conditions, every okrug civil-defense staff should formulate a concrete plan from which it can be seen what the inside and outside propaganda will be for an obshtina, municipality, project, agroindustrial complex, animal-husbandry complex, workshop, institution and what it will be in staffs and schools. Plans will be formulated with the assistance of party committees, visual-propaganda commissions, artists group, etc. It is advisable that okrug staffs formulate by-laws on a competition for visual propaganda and political artwork and from the projects submitted select the best for implementation.

When display boards, showcases and stands for the pictures of outstanding civil-defense workers are placed in prominent places and have an attractive appearance, they supplement the political artwork of the city, village, project and school in question. When they are at a high ideological level, they mobilize and energize the formations and the population to carry out civil-defense measures and socialist-competition pledges. It is advisable that photos of the activity of formations, flashes, portraits of outstanding workers, cartoons, etc., predominate in the visual materials that are posted in small towns and villages, in the yards of plants, schools, etc. Visual materials must not be remote from the tasks performed by the labor forces but must summon them to fulfill plans for high-quality production and to heighten the readiness of civil-defense formations.

Inside visual propaganda is usually concentrated where formation personnel pass every day, where they work and are trained--production premises, lobbies, clubs and special-purpose rooms. Visual materials have the greatest effect on the consciousness of men and commanders when they are posted in special corners or showcases.

Most frequently posted for artwork in the corridors or lobbies of staffs and schools are extracts from the orders of superior staffs and chiefs, socialist-competition pledges, schedule for reporting on competition, photos, etc. Depending on space, political artwork can be set up as a corner with a showcase (or in another way), but in all events the specific character of the content must be delineated.

The review organized by the NRB Civil Defense Command and Party Political Apparatus will undoubtedly contribute to enrichment of the ideological and artistic level of visual propaganda and political artwork. But for their effect on patriotism and on the class-party and international inculcation of personnel in the civil defense system to be high, one condition is necessary: both the visual propaganda and the political artwork must be of high quality.

INSUFFICIENT TRAINING IN CIVIL DEFENSE OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 6, 1984 pp 14-15

[Article by Tsvyatko Genov: "Comprehensive Training Exercises Are for All"]

[Text] Article 4 of Ukase No. 265 of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic says quite clearly that civil defense shall be organized in the entire territory of the country and that the entire population shall be involved in the implementation of such measures. Thus exactly--in the entire territory and with the entire population. The orders of the country's civil defense chief are in the same sense.

Is this important requirement being observed?

Any fairly precise checkup would show that it is not observed everywhere, that there are citizens who for one reason or another are not being instructed or are being instructed unsystematically. This holds true especially for the smaller enterprises, institutions and establishments and for urban districts and housing complexes where there are no table-of-organization chiefs of staff or established civil defense formations. The main reason is the inadequate attention that their executives and obshtina organizations pay to the question. Absorbed with their economic and managerial activity, they do not always organize instruction as required by "The Program for Maintaining and Expanding the Civil Defense Training of the Population." Therefore the quality of instruction is low and lacks the necessary practical orientation. Training is proceeding especially unsatisfactorily in small installations under Section III of the program, "Participation in Comprehensive Civil Defense Training Exercises." For this reason many citizens are not acquiring practical skills in adapting ground-floor premises for PRU [protivoradiatsionno ukritie; antiradiation shelters] and outfitting them, in taking shelter, in the operation of civil defense warnings, evacuation, the rendering of self-help and mutual aid and other important activities involved in protection against weapons of mass destruction.

A recent stirring in this regard has been noted. Some time ago a comprehensive training exercise was organized at the Rayon Metrology, Standardization and Quality Control Center in Varna. A great deal of care was taken by the management of this institution and by the rayon civil defense staff in preparing the training exercise. A firefighting nucleus, a medical team and a rescue group

were formed for the training exercise. The director of the training exercise had assigned to his deputies and other specialists responsibility for a particular activity in organizing protective measures and for performing varied rescue and rehabilitation work. Each one of the responsible persons observed the sector assigned to him, received orders from the civil defense chief and reported briefly to him on the measures taken. When the air alert was given, everybody took shelter in the antiradiation shelter that the employees had prepared well and made airtight.

After the enemy "strike," the civil defense chief of the installation made a decision and gave orders for the performance of SNAVR [rescue and emergency damage control work] (extinguishing of a fire, rendering of assistance to casualties, repairing damage to the water supply system, etc.). The training exercise went off successfully.

To what was the success due? Primarily to the consistent policy of the party and administrative leadership of the obshtina and rayon that there would not be a single installation, institution or establishment that would not conduct or participate in a comprehensive civil-defense training exercise. As it happened, the chief of staff of Vuzgrazhdane [Rebirth] Rayon, Nedyalko Stoyanov, rendered substantial assistance in preparing the training exercise. He had sent a table-of-organization chief of staff of an installation who assisted the management of the institution from close up. The party organization and the trade-union organization had done a thorough job of purposeful advance organizational and explanatory work.

Naturally, in the course of the training exercise some weaknesses occurred too and were properly pointed out in the critique. One of these was the very oversimplified situation after the enemy "attack"--a fire, slight damage to the water line, only two "casualties" etc. As it happened in practice in this situation, many of the people who took shelter did not participate in the rescue work after the "All Clear." It would be more realistic if the damage had been greater and if there had been more casualties. The result would have been a wider scope for work. In such event not only the medical team, but also the other employees would be trained to render self-help and mutual aid and to perform other activities as well which they learned last year.

On the very next day after the comprehensive training exercise this weakness was remedied at the Leather Notions Production Enterprise; a more complex situation was created, and rescue and emergency damage control work was performed on a larger scale.

The civil defense staff in Vuzrazhdane Rayon well realized the importance of comprehensive training exercises in small enterprises and institutions, schools and residential districts; therefore a precise schedule of comprehensive training exercises in all 126 small enterprises, 27 districts, 11 schools and 22 miscellaneous establishments was worked out there. The schedule notes what table-of-organization chiefs of staff from large installations will render methodological assistance in organizing them.

Naturally, each of these training exercises will have its own distinctive features; greater weight will be given to some measures, less to others. This will depend on the character of the production process, the number of participants, the place where the installation is located, the damage and casualties sustained. But questions of evacuation and the rendering of self-help and mutual aid will be rehearsed in all cases, and what is more, practically. That is the way it is envisaged. And that is the way it will be done. The guarantee of this is the guidance and systematic control exercised by the obshtina and rayon civil-defense staff, as well as the responsibility which the obshtina party committee places on party leaders and organizations for increasing the role of the communists who manage small installations.

It turns out that an important condition for the accomplishment of this goal is the methods-training assemblies organized in the autumn, at which the obshtina and rayon staffs directed the attention of the heads of small installations to the high-grade preparation and conduct of comprehensive training exercises.

Pazardzhik has also had experience in organizing comprehensive training exercises with small enterprises, institutions and establishments. In a training exercise during the evacuation some evacuees were asked what enterprise they were from. One of them answered that he was from the obshtina people's council, another that he was from the obshtina party committee. What is interesting is the fact that the people from these governing bodies in this instance were only executants. Later it was explained that the okrug and obshtina civil defense staffs had coordinated their activity in organizing the comprehensive training exercises, that one or two of the larger and several of the smaller installations participated simultaneously and according to plan were evacuated to the selfsame obshtina. This obshtina at the same time was conducting its own comprehensive training exercise, realistically performing SNAVR and receiving and billeting evacuees.

Possibly other places in the country have had similar experience as well. It must be generalized, popularized and introduced into practice. Underestimation of or a neglectful attitude towards the participation of citizens from small installations in comprehensive training exercises must no longer be tolerated. In fact, this is a large potential reserve for raising the level of training and readiness of thousands of citizens who are not enlisted in civil defense formations. This is so because after passing the three remaining sections of the program, in the comprehensive training exercise, which is the crowning point of their training, they are actually strengthening their knowledge and skills since they are applying them in practice. Therefore the requirement that the "situation" in these training exercises should not be oversimplified and deviations should not be permitted is completely justified. The tense international situation through the fault of the imperialists gives us no right to leave a single citizen without practical training in defense against the enemy's modern weapons.

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ARMY DAILY ON SOLDIERS' VIGILANCE

AU272034 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial Article: "Even More Active and Meaningful Activities To Increase the Soldiers' Vigilance"]

[Text] Recently the Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army discussed the activities of commanders, political organs, of the ZKPCH [expansion unknown], of the party, and Komsomol organizations in certain detachments in connection with increasing the vigilance of the army personnel and intensifying the struggle against the ideological diversion of imperialism. A report read by Officer Temenliev was heard on this occasion.

The conclusion was drawn that in the aforementioned detachments the military-political and ideological situation, complicated through the fault of imperialism, was correctly evaluated. Systematic care is being devoted in those detachments to increase the vigilance and activities of the army personnel in connection with increasing combat readiness to a qualitatively new level. The majority of commanders and political workers are solving these questions in harmony with extensive and meaningful work to implement the decisions of the National BCP Conference and the 15th All-Army Party Conference in connection with the worthy celebration of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and of the People's Army. Most commanders, political workers, and party and komosomol leaderships have a correct understanding of the demands of the party, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Main Political Administration regarding the issues of vigilance and struggle against the ideological pressure of imperialist reaction represented by NATO and the United States.

The majority of the political workers are correctly determining the basic trends and contents of this activity. An ever-expanding role is assigned to counter-propaganda and great attention is devoted to it. The domestic and foreign policy of the BCP, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the fraternal socialist countries is being explained with strong arguments; the successes and advantages of real socialism, and of the socialist way of life are also being correctly described. Along with this, a broad explanatory propaganda activity is being conducted to unmask the warmongering policy, the propaganda campaigns, and the subversive activities of imperialism, particularly as regards the United States and NATO. Meaningful work is being organized in connection with revealing the falsification of the West in connection with the so-called "Antonov case," as regards



the myth of "Soviet military threat," the noisy propaganda about the Olympic games, about the 40th anniversary of the opening of the second front in World War II, and so forth.

The ideological situation is better analyzed and studied, and in conformity with it, educational work is organized among the army personnel, as well as among the soldiers' families. Characteristic traits of this work are the differentiation, concretization, and coordination with local party, administrative, and social organs and organizations.

Questions of vigilance and counterpropaganda have their place in the Marxist-Leninist training and in political education, in the mass political and cultural-educational work. Numerous detachments have introduced the tradition of daily informing the army personnel on the basic domestic and international political events. Certain cultural and education institutions are holding series of lectures, film projections, exhibitions, and other such activities which are devoted to vigilance and to the keeping of military secrets, to the unmasking of the aggressive character of imperialism and of the bourgeois way of life. Part of the amateur theatrical groups are performing plays connected with these subjects.

The implementation of a many-sided, purpose-oriented ideological educational work is contributing to maintaining a favorable ideological atmosphere. The army personnel wholeheartedly support the general April policy line of the party, the soldiers are manifesting high and lofty political consciousness and vigilance, and are working with the necessary sense of responsibility and energy to improve their combat readiness.

At the same time it was pointed out that a number of shortcomings are allowed to occur in the activities connected with increasing vigilance and the struggle against ideological diversion and imperialism.

The Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, basing itself on the party requirements, has mapped out basic trends and tasks for overcoming such shortcomings.

The policy and activities in connection with increasing vigilance implemented within the Bulgarian People's Army must be even more closely linked to the specific tasks of the detachments. It is necessary to increase the effect of this work and it is necessary to enhance the sense of responsibility and activities of the soldiers. It is necessary to increase the impact of political work in connection with a qualitative implementation of tasks connected with combat and political training, in connection with fulfilling pledges and vigilantly serving outside and within the barracks, as well as in connection with observing military secrecy, and maintaining weapons and ammunitions.

The bureau called attention to the necessity of intensifying the work of commanders, staffs, and political organs for a timely analysis and response to the processes and phenomena in the changing ideological situation in the world, within the country, and within the soldiers' collectives. It is necessary to expand the range of information sources. Further development must be given to coordination in the activities of commanders and political organs with the local party and state organs in connection with increasing vigilance in the struggle against ideological diversion.

Particular attention was paid by the Bureau of the Main Political Administration during the aforementioned meeting to the fact that this activity is to be implemented with greater differentiation and specification, and that it should be transferred to individual army companies, battalions, navy squadrons, and ships. This activity must be implemented through close contacts with the people, through methods of oral agitation, and it must reach every member of the army personnel. In view of this purpose, the commanders and political workers from the senior links must go to the subdetachments and must be obliged to hold lectures to the soldiers and their families explaining the party policy, the international situation, and the struggle against the ideological diversion of imperialism.

Basing itself on the demands of the BCP Central Committee and the conditions of an increased ideological pressure of imperialism, the Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army assigned the task to the army to build a strict and dynamic system of counterpropaganda for army personnel. The commanders and political workers must have a correct understanding and develop a sense of responsibility in organizing, implementing, and supervising these activities.

It was pointed out that the basic trend of counterpropaganda within the Bulgarian People's Army is the creation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the development of ideological resilience, unacceptance of bourgeois ideology, and irreconcilability against ideological diversion. An active stand in life by all means requires an intensification of the class-party, moral, patriotic, international, and military education of army personnel.

An important trend in the counterpropaganda activities is represented by the timely scientifically founded unmasking of ideological diversions and of the hostile campaigns of imperialism against our country, against the socialist countries, against Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary theory, and against real socialism as a social experience. This activity must be supported by strong arguments. In connection with this we must take into account the fact that counterpropaganda is complicated and difficult work, which has to combine well-founded criticism of alien views and ideas with the permanent readiness and effort to resist open anticommunism, to unmask and destroy ideological diversion, and the provocative intentions, as well as the deceitful methods and tricks of imperialist propaganda.

Another characteristic trend of counterpropaganda is to close the channels of penetration of bourgeois propaganda within the troops.

The Bureau called attention to the fact that the basic principles of propaganda--such as party approach, scientific approach, revolutionary and critical attitudes, offensive character, and militant spirit--are characteristic features of counterpropaganda as well.

It is particularly important that the ideological struggle with imperialism should be conducted from positions which are to our advantage and to the disadvantage of imperialism. We must unmask the vices of capitalism as a system of exploitation, oppression, and violence. We must cite examples showing what bourgeois democracy really represents, how human rights are treated, and we

must demonstrate the mass unemployment and hopeless poverty caused by the system. The merciless crimes of imperialism must be constantly revealed.

It is absolutely necessary that counterpropaganda work should use all organs and means, forms and methods of ideological influence, that the counterpropaganda accents should be emphasized in our entire political-educational work. Counterpropaganda must find its place in Marxist-Leninist and political training, in mass political and educational-cultural activities. It must become an inseparable part of ideological-educational work of the party and komsomol organizations. The communists and komsomol activists must equip themselves with the necessary knowledge and skills so that they may actively participate in counterpropaganda activities. These measures should be broadly and constantly placed in the publications and broadcasts of the military mass media as well as in the activities of the central military cultural institutions, the People's Army clubs, and so forth.

The participation of agitation collectives and cultural educational institutions in the detachments must be intensified. Even greater attention should be devoted to individual political work with the military personnel on questions of vigilance and to the struggle against ideological diversion.

It is necessary resolutely to improve the leadership of counter propaganda and the activities in connection with increasing vigilance, and this task is assigned to the commanders, political organs and ZKPCH. The role of the party and komsomol organizations must be enhanced. Cadres must constantly be trained, they must acquire methodical habits and skill to organize, guide, and implement such activities, mainly in the subdetachments, among the army personnel and their families.

The Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army is convinced that the commanders, political organs, party and komsomol organizations will continue to organize and implement active and meaningful activity to increase the soldiers' vigilance and to intensify the struggle against the ideological diversions of imperialism. This is what our party demands. This is dictated by the strongly exacerbated international, military-political, and ideological situation.

CSO: 2200/171

## BRIEFS

ATANASOV RECIEVES ALGERIAN MINISTER--Sofia, 16 July (BTA)--Mr Georgi Atanasov, alternate member of Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received today Mr Kamel Bouchama, member of the CC of the Front de Liberation Nationale and minister of youth and sports of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, who is visiting this country. During the talk particular attention was paid to the work with the youth and to the possibilities for more active cooperation in this sphere. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 16 Jul 84 AU]

HARVESTING-IRRIGATION CAMPAIGN DISCUSSED--A session of the harvesting staff has been held at the National Agroindustrial Union. The basic point of the agenda was the state and problems connected with irrigating the crops. It was established that in the okrugs where no regular rains were expected and the irrigation campaign has been carried out constantly according to plan, the results were good. In some okrugs, however, as in Veliko Turnovo, Vratsa, Vidin, Mikhaylovgrad, in Sofia City and Sofia Okrug, Turgovishte, and in Yambol Okrug, irrigation is lagging regardless of the measures undertaken. To the representatives of the okrugs it was again emphasized that the next 10-15 days will be decisive for the crops so that even more efforts have to be made during this period for a constant 24-hour irrigation. After this time, the measures will not be so effective. [Text] [AU311019 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 31 Jul 84]

CSO: 2200/171

WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST NORMS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Zdobina]

[Text] Complaints and grievances addressed to higher party agencies are written mostly by individuals. It is rare to find among them a letter signed by 32 people.

At the beginning of March of this year, a complaint with that many signatures was sent by workers of Center 54 to the TOS [Machine Tool Factories] in Prague-Hostivar; this was the first indication that the matter was serious.

The concern's management and the social organizations showed until then a somewhat peripheral interest in Center 54. TOS is a machine works which has been furnished with modern numerically controlled machines and integrated production components. Center 54 is equipped primarily with lathes and drills which it uses for work on individual pieces and parts; mass production is rare there. It is true that among the workers in Center 54 there are quite a few experts with excellent reputations; they can tackle even the most complicated tasks.

And precisely this center was the scene of displays of dissatisfaction which no one expected and which, in the beginning, no one paid much attention to. At first it seemed that nothing unusual was taking place: a norm-setter "parked himself" in Center 54 and started to measure the length of production time. (The norm-setter, as we well know, is seldom a welcome guest, no matter how noble his intentions may be.)

The first indication of an approaching conflict was a complaint that the workers of Center 54 sent to the plant committee of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] on October 21 of last year. They referred in it to the conduct of norm-setter A.K., who supposedly told them during a production meeting devoted to questions concerning the first stage of higher economic effectiveness of the wage system that "all norms, justified or unjustified, by which they have been working thus far, will be increased by roughly 30 percent." And to make clear what is in store and awaiting Center 54, he supposedly added, "From January 1 of the new year you will be earning less per hour."

I spoke with the norm-setter A.K. He insists that Center 54 has misquoted him and also that the tone of his presentation was different. He said, "I emphasized that the amount of money set aside for wages for [the members of] the workshop will remain the same and that the primary change will occur in its different distribution within the workshop in order to make the principle of merit more apparent."

In any case, the workshop decided "to take the matter to a higher authority." The first authority, the plant committee of the ROH, discussed the complaint of the center and recommended to the Department of Labor and Wages of the TOS to make suggestions and take measures that would satisfy the workers.

This was, basically, an evasive solution. The plant committee of the ROH took a "hands-off" position and thrust the responsibility upon a department of the plant. The complaint of the workers from Center 54, though, should not have been handled so lightly. It signaled to the trade union and to the party organization that the trouble ahead also had wider aspects...

The problems connected with raising the economic effectiveness of a wage system are never simple. The work norms, as we know them, have a special place not only in the broad area of technical norms; they are closely tied to people's most elementary interest--their income.

In many of our plants, setting work norms has thus far not been done professionally enough. We are witnessing manifestations of egalitarianism; the norms are often set arbitrarily; there is a shortage of norm-setters; social viewpoints are often mingled with wage policies. The Program for Raising the Economic Effectiveness of the Wage System, adopted by the Government of the CSSR in 1980, is supposed to bring a turn for the better. The implementation of the program is divided into two stages. The first stage--and it was during its course that what we have reported at the beginning of this article happened--is geared toward a planned acceleration of the process of improvement and extension of all kinds of norms, toward improving the effectiveness of motivation forms as basic means of employment of the principle of merit in wage practices, and toward a tighter link between wages and labor and economic results.

Thus one cannot look for a turn for the better in the area of norm setting, one cannot speak thus far about a change that the program anticipated. Application of objective norms is being postponed in many organizations; this is evident especially in federally administered sectors [and] from the fact that of the total number of objective norms (60.5 percent) only 32.6 percent have been employed.

To put it differently: the basic forms for measuring work are thus far not everywhere at a level that would make them a reliable indicator of collective or individual work, and thus they are also not an instrument for increasing productivity. This is obvious from another fact: during the last 3 years, the so-called "mean for fulfillment of norms" was lowered in agricultural organizations from 116 percent to 113 percent; this did not register in a corresponding manner in an increase of work productivity of the society, and especially not in a lowering of the number of workers.

This generalization was necessary in order to underline the deeper relationships and the fact that the increased value of time is not being appreciated everywhere. We can often hear, "A minute here, a minute there;" in economics, however, everything counts. Experts figured out that 1 minute [wasted] in all of industry represents a minus of roughly 5 million korunas in production value. Thus every time someone waves his hand at "only" a minute, he impoverishes the whole society.

At TOS, the problems of raising the economic effectiveness of the wage system manifested themselves in reality like this: in the first stage, from the total number of production norms, 60 percent were put in practice and were being fulfilled to 138 percent. Thus in that plant, the relationship between wage increases and productivity of work is not very precise.

Had the complaint from Center 54 ad TOS been handled early and properly. the knowledge gained from it could have become an important argument in the economic propaganda and training, and could have served also as a warning against [mere] administrative action in norm setting. But not only that! As it turns out, the complaint from Center 54 was not justified on all points...

Let us, however, follow the development of the situation further... Since the workers of the Center 54 were not satisfied with the way the plant committee of the ROH and TOS's specialized departments were handling the matter, they turned, as we have already mentioned, to a higher party agency. In their complaint they repeated their objections, again criticized norm setter A.K., and in conclusion emphasized that the work in their center "is work done in very small cycles and tasks done in seconds. This work"--we are still quoting--"requires a high degree of physical and mental efficiency of every worker who has to concentrate fully on individual tasks. It is, therefore, our opinion that his work should be made more profitable rather than the other way around."

Let us notice--they did not just request that the norms remain the same but also that their work be made more profitable.

The words "made more profitable" must be understood only to mean that the workers are asking for the creation of new conditions so that, in essence, everybody's income would be raised. That, however, would contradict the general guidelines which anticipate that during the present 5-year plan wages would rise yearly by 1 percent in accordance with the increase of work productivity. If this broader relationship were destroyed, the equilibrium between wages or income and goods would also be destroyed, as we would see immediately in the resulting breakdown in the commercial network. Neither would we be successful in international markets, since the price of goods would have to include the greater cost of labor and we could not compete. In TOS, they also have to keep that in mind, since their products are primarily for export.

So--what needed to be done in Center 54?

To set norms correctly so that they would express as precisely as possible the amount of work society has to render for production of this or that item. Where the norms are too high, they should be lowered; where they are too low, they should be raised. And in Center 54 there are also some low norms. Certain workers fulfill them easily to 160 percent and collect without much effort double or triple bonuses. This, of course, was not mentioned in the complaint. Anyone who has ever worked in a factory knows very well that it is not as easy to fool a norm setter as is asserted.

The district committee of the party in Prague 10 intervened in a significant way in resolving the complaint of Center 54. It emphasized the social viewpoints--until then evaded--and the political aspects of bringing order into norm setting. At its initiative, the plant management, the trade union and the party organization dealt again, and this time more thoroughly, with the complaint.

Then a meeting dealing with production took place at the TOS. It was attended by senior officials of the plant, by representatives of social organizations and by senior workers from Center 54. From that meeting and from further encounters there emerged a document which contains a set of measures designed to help solve the existing conflict.

The management of the plant acknowledged that it had underestimated the problems connected with norm setting and the events to which they led in Center 54, and that the norms set for the center were not accurate since they had been set by a summary and comparative method. This resulted in the fact that some of the norms were high, others rather low. By the way, not one of the workers raised during the discussion a single objection against the norms that had been set too low. It would have been honorable to point out those, too, since we must never forget that a norm must express the material interest not only of an individual but also of the society.

In the interest of rectification in Center 54, the management of the plant promised that it would remove inaccuracies in norms; that in some areas norm setters would take pictures of a day's work and make a detailed evaluation of it; that, should different opinions arise about certain norms, a solution would be sought by measuring individual segments [of the work process]; that, since it is the young and inexperienced workers rather than the senior ones (though these have also signed the complaint) who have difficulties with the norms, the management would secure their training records; that it would also reexamine wages paid for piecework; that it would toughen control of work records.

The aktiv also accepted documents on the improvement of supervisory and organizational work at Center 54.

If we are to summarize all measures under some basic indicators, we could say that what will happen in the Center 54 will most likely amount to this: norms will be set objectively, wages will be differentiated, there will be a greater guarantee that bonuses will correspond to merit, and the [total] sum of money designated for wages will remain the same.



This course is fully in accordance with the principles of the Program of Raising Economic Effectiveness of Wages.

If the question of norms had been solved in Center 54 at TOS in Hostivar from the beginning in this manner, there would have been no need for disputes and complaints. The plant's management, its specialized departments, party and trade-union organizations are to blame, but so are the communists of Center 54. They should have been the first ones to stand up against a violation of the program's rules and, at the same time, should have differentiated accurately between the voices that were leveling justified criticism and those that only wanted to ride on the wave of dissatisfaction of a few.

And what larger lesson ensued from all of this?

There should be no postponement and evasiveness in handling questions of wages, since a problem returns with even greater urgency and sometimes even with turmoil. In the opinion of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, it is especially irresponsible "when norm setting is done only by the administration, by calculating to what extent wages can be equalized without subjecting the work operations, procedures, or the workplace to proper analysis."

We could add one more thing without fear of error: if in Center 54 they were to introduce the brigade forms of labor and reward, the collective there would by itself quickly solve the greater part of all problems that had led to disagreements.

12435

CSO: 2400/371

EAST-WEST TRADE COOPERATION IN THIRD WORLD ASSESSED

East Berlin IPW BERICHTe in German Vol 13 No 7, Jul 84 pp 7-14

[Paper delivered by Gerhard Scharschmidt, member of the committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation, at the international symposium "Economic Cooperation Between the Socialist States and Capitalist Industrial Countries in Third Markets," held in East Berlin on 15-17 May 84: "Position and Prospects of East-West Cooperation in Third Markets as Viewed by the GDR"]

[Text] The development of international economic relations between partners who espouse different socioeconomic systems, and the dynamics of these relations reflect the interrelationship of politics and economics.

The political commonsense of East-West economic cooperation is obvious. It appears to me important to say this at the outset in order at a time of difficult international conditions to emphasize the political role of economic relations, and also because the continuing readiness for economic and scientific-technical cooperation and their energetic realization are able even in politically tense times to help return the course of international events to the more beneficial tracks of detente.

We should not overestimate the importance of economic relations for the process of detente, but it is not helpful at all for this cooperation if we were to underestimate it. Any policy oriented to economic cooperation between East and West must therefore take into account the perception that, while the danger of war has increased, so have the opportunities to counteract it.<sup>1</sup> Experience teaches us that both sides are interested in expanding trade and relations consonant with the principle of equality and equal security. Consequently the GDR is tirelessly advocating cooperation based on understanding and a reasonable balance of interests with all those ready for peaceful coexistence.<sup>2</sup>

The very real opportunities of such a policy were demonstrated by the successful conclusion of the Madrid Conference and the agreement on the final document. This reaffirmed the final act of Helsinki, in particular the catalogue of principles, as the code of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social orders. Of course we cannot equate bilateral or trilateral relations with international relations. At the same time the two cannot be completely divorced. Insofar economic relations between socialist states,

Western industrial countries and developing nations may well exert a beneficial influence on the implementation of the Helsinki final act and the Madrid document. Conversely, the sphere of economic relations is favorably affected if all countries truly observe these obligations. Economic relations represent a contribution to the realization of the basic concept of the final Madrid document. This states, inter alia:

"The participating states therefore agreed that renewed efforts should be undertaken, by concrete unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures, to confer full effectiveness on the final act, in order to restore confidence among the participating countries; this would facilitate a significant improvement in their reciprocal relations."<sup>3</sup>

#### Encouraging Confidence by Cooperation

Actions directed against peaceful cooperation in the late 1970's, especially by the United States, have caused some damage and affected the laboriously developed reciprocal confidence. Politicians, businessmen and economists, oriented to a peaceful future for mankind, are endeavoring to restore and encourage confidence building. Practical steps for the encouragement of confidence in the spirit of the Madrid Conference are politically feasible and pay off in tangible results for both parties in terms of the economy also.

Related to cooperation on third markets, such confidence encouraging measures must be based on consideration for the justified interests of all partners, on equality and mutual profit:

--Confidence encouraging measures should aim by practical cooperation to assist all those forces which oppose the arms race. Regardless of the standard of economic development, growing arms spending is getting to be an increasing burden on the peoples, and it also hampers economic and social progress. If we were to succeed in freeing resources for social and economic development by cutting arms spending, this would be beneficial to international economic cooperation, too. As we all know, the member countries of the Warsaw Pact have renewed their proposal to use part of the resources so freed for the benefit of developing countries,<sup>4</sup> surely the most important target group for cooperation on third markets.

-- Confidence encouraging measures must be directed toward reducing and abolishing embargoes, artificial obstacles and barriers that hinder such cooperation. International economic relations have become an indispensable element of economic growth for all countries. This objective requirement of our age must be met by adequate measures. Mutual profit and the equality of all parties involved is the principal trade principle for cooperation on third markets also. Any discrimination against one of the partners prevents this business design from assuming full effectiveness.

--Lastly it is necessary for confidence encouraging measures to be oriented to the provision of effective help for the developing countries in their efforts to overcome their backwardness. The projects of cooperation on

the markets of developing countries are particularly suitable to provide a contribution, (albeit a very modest one hitherto) to this endeavor which concerns all mankind. The combination of intellectual, material and financial resources in the course of this cooperation is able effectively to back the efforts for gradually overcoming the economic and scientific-technical backwardness of the developing countries, a backwardness rooted in the historic past.

#### Cooperation on Third Markets and General Development Requirements

Due to the respective historical inevitabilities, international economic cooperation within the two world economic systems generally displays an impressive rate of development. That applies both to the absolute increase in the extent of these relations and to the types of their realization. As for the latter, nobody could possibly dispute the transition to multiple types of economic cooperation, which initiate long-range division of labor.

Socialist economic integration among the CEMA countries has become a crucial growth factor. Western industrial nations have developed their relations in a manner typical for the conditions ruling there, for example West European integration. We are also witnessing serious efforts by many developing countries by regional mergers to better meet the needs of their economic development. This intensification of cooperation within the respective systems and groupings is certainly the response to developmental requirements at the end of this century.

East-West cooperation is based on these processes within the two systems. If it aims to make a contribution to the economic development of the partners--whatever its dimension--it cannot bypass this internal dynamic. It follows that economic cooperation between partners coming from both world systems can achieve its objective not only by considerable growth rates of reciprocal trade. It must be directed to the greater utilization of the remarkable potential of the worldwide division of labor than we have seen hitherto. Various types of cooperation offer themselves as an approach to more intensive and efficient economic and scientific-technical cooperation, consonant with these specific givens.

Why should cooperation on third markets have an increasing role in this context? Evidently this type of cooperation is very well suited to bring to bear the various strengths of the partners by joint actions with greater benefits for all concerned--better so than would be possible by individual efforts. At the same time it is possible better to cope with the growing demands of the markets. Of course it is also possible thereby to balance the weaknesses prevailing on the one or the other side--to the benefit of all concerned. The active involvement of partners from the third country responds to the growing potentials and objectives of many developing countries. The multiplier effect, for example, arising in the developing country as the result of the provision of training and know how, renders an important contribution to the management of one of the main problems of these countries.

Moreover, cooperation on third market is increasingly important, because it is evidently able to broaden the economic scope. When the two partners cooperate to search for markets in common or by a division of labor, prevailing barriers to cooperation are shifted forward by one of the partner's project realization. It is not surprising, therefore, that the growing perception of the partner's potentials and rising economic demands on project realization act as incentives for cooperation on third markets.

The partners must be able to offer mutual reliability, mastery of the scientific-technical requirements, economic and organizational demands and reciprocal compatibility as the preconditions for collaboration oriented to the long term. Long-term collaboration is needed because efficiency grows with repetition. Another vital principle of this type of cooperation is the strict observance of agreements, because such cooperation is exposed to many strains due to unforeseeable occurrences.

The detailed treatment of industrial cooperation in the Helsinki final act underlines the participating countries' great concern for these issues. The ECE and UNCTAD submitted many studies and reports on these matters. These clearly show that industrial cooperation between socialist states and Western industrial countries is advancing apace, while cooperation on third markets--a recent addition--is gaining importance. On the basis of international agreements and programs for economic cooperation, East-West economic relations have expanded on a broad front of economics, industry, science and technology (including production specialization, custom manufacture, mixed companies and cooperation on third markets).<sup>5</sup>

According to the latest estimates by the ECE trade committee, based on the study of 966 contracts, industrial cooperation between socialist states and capitalist industrial countries proceeds mainly by the following methods (percentage shares)<sup>6</sup>:

Joint production and specialization	43.6
Delivery of plant and equipment for payment by products	17.8
Licensing for payment by products	13.6
Mixed companies	12.3
Joint offers and projects (inclusive of third markets)	10.3
Custom manufacture	2.4

Though the exchange of goods between socialist states and Western industrial does not yet feature much industrial cooperation, the latter is enjoying steady growth. The same applies to cooperation on third markets.<sup>7</sup> According to estimates by the ECE secretariat, cooperation on third markets in the mid-1970's accounted for about 6-8 percent of all types of industrial cooperation; at the present time it has achieved more than 10 percent.

The objective trends of the internationalization of economic life are certainly continuing and more definite motive forces for industrial cooperation in general and cooperation on third markets in particular. The development of productive forces in the conditions of scientific-technological progress, the use of microelectronics and robot equipment as well as the advancing

automation of entire production processes push for larger series, shorter renewal periods for end products and marketing opportunities far exceeding the capacities of the domestic market.

In these circumstances, the utilization of the benefits of the international division of labor assumes a new significance. Industry represents its most dynamic field of application and, at the same time, demonstrates the necessity for all countries to meet the demands of scientific-technological progress. Longer-range development lines imperiously demand the sensible and increasing utilization of the benefits of the international division of labor as an indispensable prerequisite of economic progress.

When we look at the key sectors of cooperation on third markets, we get the following picture:

- Electricity production,
- Machine construction,
- Machine tool construction,
- Iron and steel industry,
- Oil production and processing,
- Agriculture,
- Food industry,
- Light industry.

Engineered structures account for a major share.

When we appraise our experiences, we note that cooperation on third markets proceeds analogous to industrial cooperation generally. It includes, in particular:

- Joint bids and the execution of projects by, among others, the establishment of syndicates, the contractual relationship of general contractor and subcontractor,
- The delivery of plant or equipment paid for by products,
- Licensing,
- Marketing cooperation,
- The establishment of mixed companies.

The Helsinki final act reaffirms that the signatories will take into consideration the interests of all, especially the interest of developing countries in reducing differentials in the extent of economic development. Cooperation on third markets is most appropriate for helping activate this principle.

The goals and resources for the development of bilateral relations between socialist states and Western industrial countries on the one hand and developing countries on the other, vary a good deal. At the same time the socioeconomic features and economic maturity of the "Third World" countries also differ

sharply. The starting point of cooperation in third countries is actually offered by the realistic assessment of these differences and the search for the intersection of interests with regard to economic and scientific-technical cooperation. We have found out that there are many more opportunities of exploitation, which respond to the interests of the developing countries and are likely to advance their economic development.

An UNCTAD paper, produced in preparation of the organization's Fifth Congress, noted that the developing countries are much concerned with getting support for their industrialization efforts. Cooperation in the direction mentioned earlier is useful for all countries concerned, because it facilitates the rational and efficient exploitation of resources, including new technologies, and stimulates international industrial specialization.<sup>8</sup> The Western economists Gutman and Arkwright who have repeatedly dealt with this topic, also confirm that such cooperation directly contributes to the efforts oriented to the establishment of a new international economic order.<sup>9</sup>

The Soviet economist Sevin, too, reaffirms the positive role of this type of economic cooperation between socialist states, Western industrial countries and developing nations. He emphasizes the complex strategy required for economic development and likely to receive an impetus from such type of cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

In the broadest meaning, cooperation on third markets is apt to serve the fulfillment of the main concern of the democratic transformation of international economic relations, take into account the objective developmental needs of all participating countries and make a contribution to coping with the obstacles arising here, too, by the encouragement of equal and mutually beneficial economic relations.

#### GDR Experiences in East-West Cooperation on Third Markets

The GDR economy has displayed smooth flowing growth for many years despite changing external and internal conditions. In 1983 foreign trade turnover rose almost twice as fast as industrial production. The trend toward steadily closer links between our national economy and the world market, specially with economic potential of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, continued. Consequently foreign trade intensity was even more marked.

Regardless of the structural changes caused by internal needs, the problems and tasks arising from the changed situation on the world markets and the measures necessary in response to imperialist confrontational policies, this economic policy is designed to continue safeguarding the achievement of the challenging sociopolitical goals of the socialist states. This has been the case up to now, and there is no reason to doubt the continuing pursuit of this line. We are particularly concerned with even more thoroughly utilizing the development of science and technology and guarantee the rapid technological application of its results. In other words, we mean to quickly absorb and comprehensively use new knowledge, because it is the basis of future economic growth. "Lasting answers can be supplied only by scientific-technological solutions. Unduly modest goals in this field would cost us dear."<sup>11</sup>

The GDR's stable economic base and its firm involvement in the process of socialist economic integration provide the foundation for its foreign economic relations with Western industrial states. The requirements of the implementation of our economic strategy determine GDR economic interest in these relations. Cooperation relations are to directly and indirectly promote this growth process, sustained by the motive force of scientific-technical progress. This also strengthens the potentials of GDR combines and industrial enterprises as partners on the world market.

The advisability of cooperation on third markets arises from scientific-technical and economic reasons, including the beneficial utilization of capacities. Consequently GDR industry is increasingly interested by cooperation to encourage the joint exportation of processes and equipment inclusive of the use of microelectronics, energy conserving procedures and processes providing for environment-friendly disposal, and so on. As demonstrated by GDR experiences, third country cooperation is well suited to stimulate the reciprocal flow of technologies required for these purposes.

In the total system of GDR economic and scientific-technical relations with capitalist industrial states, cooperation on third markets occupies a firm place and is now developing very dynamically indeed. Even a few years ago the turnover realized in this context was very modest indeed. In 1983 cooperation on third markets achieved a great place value in GDR exports to capitalist industrial countries by way of jointly constructed projects and marketing cooperation. Looking at the joint construction of projects in third countries, the volume now under construction amounts to double the sum total of all contracts so far completed. The dimension of the projects being initiated is 8 times greater than all that has been achieved by third country projects up to now.

The dynamism of third country cooperation is particularly evident in relations with Austria, and it is here that we have gained most experiences. The share of third country cooperation in the GDR's total exports to Austria has steadily risen since 1980. Up to now the GDR has completed 13 projects with 9 Western industrial countries in 10 third countries; another 5 are in the process of realization. Negotiations are at present in progress on another 35 projects in 17 developing countries.

The principal fields of cooperation on third markets are:

- Metallurgical equipment,
- Lifting and conveying equipment,
- Machine tools,
- Equipment for the chemical and oil processing industry,
- Electrical equipment for power plants,
- Railroad signalling and safety equipment,
- Products of scientific appliance construction,
- Equipment for the textile industry,
- Construction and assembly services,
- Training services and the provision of know how for selected fields.



The methods mainly used to handle the projects are the general contractor--subcontractor relationship and the establishment of syndicates. Trade cooperation was also developed with a growing number of major corporations.

As far as the GDR is concerned, cooperation on third markets is based on lasting economic interests. It may be very useful to both partners in coping with complex and swiftly changing world market conditions. The expression of the obviously long-range mutual interest is the trade framework that has now been established for it. Thirteen agreements concluded on economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the GDR and capitalist industrial countries reflect the readiness to encourage cooperation on third markets by enterprises of both partners. The governments of the GDR and France agreed a separate treaty on the development of cooperation on third markets by enterprises of both states.

Cooperation agreements between GDR foreign trade enterprises and Western corporations are another type relating to this kind of collaboration. Most of them include the processing of third country projects on the basis of reciprocity; in some instances special agreements on this type of cooperation were concluded, for example with Toyo Engineering Co.

Not all agreements were activated with equal energy. Opportunities remain to be more fully exploited. Contracts and agreements are able only to provide the framework for subsequent actions which ultimately need to be translated into commercial results.

Mixed government commissions and meetings of syndicates and their subgroups also have an important role as yet another intermediate link. The conference of the GDR-France mixed government committee late last year adopted a comprehensive document which spelled out in great detail the coinciding interests of both parties for proceeding with cooperation on third markets. Concrete objectives and measures were decided upon for the various study groups of the mixed government commission, such as the mechanical industry, car construction/machine tools, computer technology and electronics, electrical engineering and chemicals. These study groups are to decide how to further develop cooperation. Another example is represented by the groups of experts in the syndicate established by GDR foreign enterprises with VOEST-Alpine AG. They also exert some influence, albeit to various degrees, on the concrete organization of collaboration on third markets.

The activation of this available mechanism and its more extensive organization offer an easily accessible source for the further stimulation of this kind of cooperation. Especially because far-sighted and purposeful as well as systematic cooperation leads us to the halfway mark to success precisely in this field where extensive and early coordination is imperative. Many of the tools have been provided--though they are not all handled with equal effect.

#### Experiences in Project Realization

I will now generalize some experiences gained in planning:

1. Tackling economic projects--whether of large or small dimensions--has become an immensely complex matter. This complexity and reciprocal interrelation

of the most varied requirements is still on the rise. Prior studies, market development, planning studies--all of which may involve several fields and may include the training and further education of the future personnel--, the incorporation of the objective in other economic development projects, and so on, make tremendous demands on the contractor, especially in developing countries. And all of this is normally required from one party.

2. Due to the specialization of factories involved in the division of labor, one enterprise alone is less and less able to make available everything needed at good quality, on the specific and varied user terms and with a guarantee of the necessary profitability for the supplier. The most appropriate cooperation partners are often not to be found within national borders. Cooperation by various enterprises from several countries is the obvious answer to these objective processes of market development. It must be based on mutually complementary structures and potentials.

3. In the interest of the equilibrium of total economic relations with Western industrial countries, attempts were made to encourage exports. Third country cooperation, generated by these motives, has by now turned into an independent type of cooperation, profitable to both parties. In the long run it is bound to be based on the division of labor mentioned earlier.

4. Long-standing business relations and the development of confidence are factors of this cooperation, that we must not underestimate. Cooperation evolved successfully whenever experiences of bilateral cooperation were available. Important for the stability of this third country cooperation is the generation of traditional partnership relations similar to those that have long existed among enterprises within their respective socioeconomic systems, and which must be appropriately incorporated in this new cooperation.

5. In the matter of cooperation on third markets it has again been found useful to proceed step by step with regard to the choice of the types of cooperation. The contractual relationship of general and subcontractor has passed the test. Extensive experiences could be gained on mutual opportunities, on the areas ready for expansion and those currently subject to limitations. In this connection the syndicate challenges both partners and must build on the proper prerequisites. Cooperation in research and development with regard to selected fields and the use of the subsequent results for cooperation on third markets is a type assuming a highly developed stage of cooperation.

6. A condition of the successful realization of cooperation on third market is the complete guarantee of business finance. Efficacy arises only from the unity of goods and monetary aspects. That is why it is imperative as early as possible to involve the banks in the business transactions.

7. The legal organization of the contractual relationship is very important. The clearer, less ambiguous and more detailed the provisions, the stabler is the relationship engaged in. That matters insofar as the combined potentials of the partners must--as a unit--successfully stand the test of competition.

8. Finally I must mention the matter of risk. In present circumstances, this issue assumes prime importance for cooperation on the markets of the developing countries and those of other capitalist states. Taking into account the aspects mentioned earlier, it is quite possible to limit the risk for the parties involved and indeed substantially lower it by comparison with a solo performance.

These selected and summarized experiences may be illustrated by the following example. Let us look at cooperation on third markets between the Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machine Construction Combine (SKET) and VOEST-Alpine AG. This cooperation on third markets goes back to 1975, when SKET issued VOEST a license on equipment and processes for the manufacture of cement clinker by a dry process. In the next stage, VOEST included SKET as a subcontractor in various export projects. Continuing from the license contract mentioned above, SKET and VOEST concluded a contract by which the partners agreed to jointly construct a precalcinating plant at the Mannersdorf/Austria factory of Perlmooser Zementwerke AG. This factory was also to serve as a demonstration plant. VOEST and SKET jointly developed this precalcinating system for cement factories and applied for a patent. Within the framework of the conference of export groups at the syndicate GDR foreign trade enterprises-VOEST, more joint operations by SKET and VOEST were agreed.

Another example of the experiences of cooperation on third markets is provided by the realization of projects in Mauretania and Cameroon. Here we see the conclusions arrived at in the course of cooperation, and how they were profitably used for new contracts. In 1974 cooperation with VOEST was agreed for the construction of an oil refinery in Mauretania. A syndicate was established from the VOEST, GDR and Netherlands companies involved in the realization of the project. The contract on cooperation between VOEST-Alpine AG and the Investexport Foreign Trade Enterprise VE for the construction of a pulp and paper factory in Cameroon was concluded in 1976. At that time experiences gained in the construction stage of the Mauretanian project were taken into account (the provisions of that agreement had turned out not to be fully satisfactory). The points involved concerned the scheduled completion of a separate chief assembly contract, a detailed cost limitation for the parties involved, a detailed determination of the partners' liability, more comprehensive provisions on working and living conditions at the assembly, less ambiguous safety regulations on the construction site and statements regarding the right to technical changes. Consideration for these and other items in the second contract helped not only the smooth handling of this project, it also represented an important plus in experience for the developing cooperation on third markets generally and for the consolidation of reciprocal confidence.

Conditions in the 1980's

The successes of cooperation on third markets will depend on our success in satisfying the requirements of future market developments. This will most likely concern projects directed to the utilization of modern technological processes, energy conservation and energy production from alternative sources, the renewal and expansion of existing plant, the settlement of the food problem, in developing countries, the educational system, and so on.

Do the prerequisites really exist in the socialist states and Western industrial countries, all the more since Western publications often insist on the general technological backwardness of the socialist countries? What is the GDR experience? Relations develop well if each partner contributes specific performances. These include scientific-technical results of all kinds.

The GDR is well known to enjoy a great deal of expertise in lignite strip mining and lignite processing equipment. This field could be increasingly used for cooperation on third markets. One result so far has been the issue of a license for bucket-wheel excavators to the Japanese Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Corporation and cooperation (mainly in the form of know how) in the development of strip mines in third countries. At the 1984 Leipzig Spring Fair, Masao Kanameri, president of Mitsubishi Corporation and supervisory board chairman of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, stated that Mitsubishi--now having available TAKRAF licenses for excavators--will offer various items of possible interest to the GDR. "It is no longer a matter of simply exporting or importing some merchandise. We wish to seek ways and means for combining the excellent technologies of the GDR with those of Japan and, subsequently, jointly develop markets in third countries." <sup>12</sup>

The Black Pump Gas Combine VEB and VOEST-Alpine AG concluded agreements on a joint approach to projects involving lignite processing. This concerns mainly the economic utilization of technical and technological knowledge of GDR and Austrian industry, such as synthesized gas production, including the supply of the appropriate equipment.

In the metallurgical industry, plasma metallurgical processes developed in the GDR are also used in common with Austria for cooperation in third countries. At the 1984 Leipzig Spring Fair Norbert Steger, vice chancellor of Austria, underlined "that Austria and the GDR cooperate in high technology also and are engaged in joint cooperation on third markets. Others talk about cooperation, we have long practiced it." <sup>13</sup>

Biotechnology is another promising field for cooperation on third markets. The results so far achieved in the GDR have met with exceptional interest at GDR technical shows in Western industrial countries. Two examples may illustrate the practical results. The Fermosin process, developed in the GDR, for the production of microbial protein for fodder is currently being transferred to technical dimensions. This process is based on the fact that the versatility of single-cell organisms, bacteria, yeasts and algae is not yet sufficiently used, and that we will succeed by way of biotechnology in arriving at new solutions with respect to substances. It would then be possible to produce organic-chemical compounds, effective substances, pharmaceutical specialties and high-quality foods and feeds.

Another example of the novel syntheses in organic chemistry is the stalk stabilizer Campozan. This new synthesis resulted in a technical solution on the basis of GDR domestic raw materials. With its help it is possible to prevent (?) storing the grain and, above all, to stabilize rye stalks. The use of this product has helped improve labor productivity at harvest time by 20-30 percent, for example. <sup>14</sup>

Only when we succeed in making advanced processes and technologies accessible to third country cooperation and thus combine the two partners' potentials in various fields, will it be possible successfully to respond to the ever more complex conditions prevailing on the markets. The latest crisis of the capitalist world economy has demonstrated this most graphically. Nobody doubts that we must expect repeat performances. It is therefore imperative to find ways and means to open the doors to and pursue with the greatest possible vigor any promising sales opportunities--and long-range and future-oriented third country cooperation is often just such a door.

#### Developing Countries as Third Markets

Cooperation on third markets is not a one-way street. Socialist and capitalist countries maintain relations with Third World countries, though the assumptions and features of these relations may differ. Cooperation by enterprises of both systems is well suited for benefiting all parties concerned. The GDR has developed close relations with several developing countries. As a rule this has been the basis for these, in turn, to invite cooperation with Western enterprises. A successful cooperative effort was realized with the FRG Krupp corporation, involving a textile industry project in Ethiopia.

Such cooperation may also proceed indirectly. The GDR received a contract for constructing a textile combine in the People's Republic of Mozambique. It recommended that Mozambique should also call in an Italian firm. As a result, Mozambique concluded a contract with the Italian firm Snamprogetti. It was the GDR's task to advise the customer and coordinate all performances. Negotiations are now proceeding with a French firm, concerning the construction of a cement plant in an Arab country.

Similarly, GDR services have been included in projects carried out in developing countries by capitalist firms. In addition to the joint projects with Austria mentioned earlier, such cooperation proceeded mainly with French and FRG firms and involved some developing countries with which the GDR had until then little in the way of economic relations.

In general we may note that the implementation of the principle of reciprocal involvement in projects effectively encourages cooperation. At the same time we may not forget that increasing economic and, particularly, financial difficulties in many developing countries represent a severe strain on third country cooperation. Several projects had to be postponed or canceled entirely due to the economic difficulties in the respective countries. It is therefore most important for cooperation on these markets to carefully weigh all the pros and cons, in order to safeguard the profit of all the parties concerned.

#### Prospects for Cooperation on Third Markets

In the current political and world economic situation, partners need to make special efforts for advancing economic and scientific-technical relations between countries of the two world economic systems. The results achieved

in cooperation on third markets and the discussions on their further development confirm the usefulness of the commitment of those forces who do not yield to the circles orienting to confrontation with and political blackmail of the socialist countries.

On the other hand we are obviously unable to disregard the dangers arising from the threatening exacerbation of the international situation. This overshadows third country cooperation, too. Embargoes and harsher regulations on cooperation in the field of modern technologies evidently obstruct the overall climate of this cooperation as well as the realization of individual projects. Lastly, restrictive credit policies toward socialist states have not exactly encouraged a common approach to third markets. Still, the course of events demonstrates that economic and scientific-technical relations between East and West do not lend themselves well to any attempted economic or political blackmail of socialist states. It did not need the 1980's to prove this fact. Relations as such were damaged thereby, and so of course were the parties involved.

Also to be noted in this context is the fact that cooperation on third markets and other types of economic relations are hampered by growing trade restrictions imposed by Western states and by expanded and qualitatively new protectionist interventions. When certain state measures for financing exports fail to be extended to socialist partners to the same extent as to EC member countries, for example, cooperation is certainly not stimulated. Much the same applies to quotas and similar regulations. To be achieved here are provisions specially encouraging cooperation by measures in all Western industrial states, not the erection of definite barriers.

The GDR advocates the expansion of relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In implementation of the Helsinki final act and the Madrid concluding documents, many measures have been initiated to encourage cooperation in the spirit of these documents. This includes cooperation on third markets. Our policy is based on the conviction that the progressive forces will succeed in continuing the process of detente and to further develop all useful and peaceful collaboration in the fields of economics, science and technology also. Of course we do not disregard the fact that the difference in systems sets natural limits to such cooperation.

As regards cooperation on third markets, we are in effect in the initial stages only, and many approaches and opportunities may not emerge until the development is more advanced. From the aspect of the GDR's economic structure, promising long-term opportunities for cooperation on third markets arise mainly in the following fields:

-- Particularly suitable for expansion seems to be cooperation in the field of the production and processing of lignite. Long years of experience and the extensive know how of GDR combines are available with regard to strip mining equipment for coal (and other mineral raw materials) up to and including complete strip mining plants, the exploration, appraisal and development of lignite deposits, brown coal briquetting, solid bed pressure gasification, brown coal high temperature coking and coal dust production.

-- Among the industries where interesting technical solutions, capacities and long-standing traditions are available, are the machine tool and textile machine construction, equipment for chemical and cement plant, plant and equipment for metallurgy and printing machine construction.

-- Promising developments appear to beckon in the matter of cooperation for the provision of know how and the supply of equipment for the industrialized output of agricultural products, especially beef cattle and pig feeding facilities, model farms, pelletizing and silo facilities, breweries and the manufacture of fodder protein on the basis of oil distillates. In addition there are possibilities for cooperation in the production of baked goods, cocoa products, beverages, and so on.

-- Also promising seems the supply of comprehensive facilities for vocational training in developing countries. As a cooperation partner, GDR industry offers the construction of vocational training centers for multiple use as well as of workshops for the training of machine construction mechanics, farm equipment mechanics and motor mechanics.

-- Technologies and systems for the construction industry and processes for the construction materials industry may offer another possible prospect for cooperation.

-- Finally we are ready and have the potential for cooperation in the supply of complete medical facilities (hospitals, general and specialized clinics), including the appropriate organizational set-up.

In other words, we have available a wide range of services for cooperation on third markets, offering opportunities for mutually interesting projects.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Seventh SED CC Plenum], Berlin 1983, p 12.
2. See E. Honecker, "The GDR Fully Observes Its Responsibility for Peace at the Extremely Sensitive Line Dividing Europe," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 13 September 1983, p 3.
3. Concluding document of the 1980 Madrid Conference of representatives of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was held as per the provisions of the final act with respect to the consequences of the conference. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 November 1983, p 9.
4. See proposal of the Warsaw Pact member states to the NATO member states regarding negotiations on not increasing but cutting arms expenses. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 March 1984, p 2.

5. In this connection see "Review of Trends and Policies in Trade Between Countries Having Different Economic and Social Systems," report by the UNCTAD Secretariat, TD/B/965, 1 September 1983, p 33.
6. "Promotion of Trade Through Industrial Co-operation, Statistical Survey of Recent Trends in Industrial Co-operation," note by the Secretariat, Economic Commission of Europe, Committee on the Development of Trade, Trade/R 468, 10 November 1983.
7. Included as a rule in this cooperation on third markets is also tripartite cooperation. Tripartite cooperation is generally interpreted as the active involvement of firms from developing countries; that is not necessarily the case in cooperation on third markets.
8. In this context see "Tripartite Industrial Co-operation and Co-operation in Third Countries," TD/243/Supp 5, UNCTAD V, Manila, May 1979, pp 5 and 11.
9. In this context see P. Gutmann/F. Arkwright, "Tripartite Industrial Cooperation Between Countries Having Different Economic and Social Systems of the West, the East and the South," POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, Paris, 6/1975, pp 621ff.
10. In this context see L. Sevin, "East-West-South. Economic Interactions Between Three Worlds," Offprint.
11. From the concluding address by E. Honecker at the SED district delegate conference in Berlin. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 February 1984, p 3.
12. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 March 1984, p 3.
13. N. Steger, "Cooperation with the GDR Outstanding," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 March 1984, p 3.
14. See W. Schirmer, "The Influence of Scientific-Technical Progress on the National Reproduction Process--Described by way of Examples from the Chemical Industry," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, Berlin, 4/1984, p 335.

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OFFICIAL DEFINES CULTURE, ITS POLITICAL GOALS

East Berlin NATIONAL ZEITUNG in German 4 Jul 84 pp 3-4

[Interview with Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, GDR minister for culture, member of the SED Central Committee, by Klaus Baschleben, date and place not given: "The Encounter with Art Frees Creativity"]

[Text] NATIONAL ZEITUNG: The 35 years of GDR development are also 35 years of the consistent and successful development of intellectual-cultural life in our country. What is most remarkable and unmistakable about this certainly far from simple, even contradictory evolution?

Hoffmann: As far as I am concerned, the most remarkable aspect is the fact that culture and art in the GDR have ceased for good to be the privilege of a small minority, that we have succeeded in 35 years--a short period in terms of history--to root culture and art firmly in the lives of working people in town and country. Many generations of workers in the past dreamed of just such a development. In our society the working class is able fully to bring to bear its cultural-creative potential. Let me just indicate the major inspiration provided by factory and workers' festivals on the development of intellectual-cultural life. Factory festivals, established in 1970, have found a firm place in the cultural life of our republic. Last year alone 3,600 festivals were held, attended by almost 10 million visitors. These are festivals of a very special and unmistakable kind--they combine creative efforts of the most varied nature. We find there achievements by innovators, crafts persons, friends of nature, sportsmen and hobbyists of all kinds--tinkering, collecting, and so on--all organized in a united and multiform cultural program. For the 20th time this year, we--that means the FDGB in close cooperation with state organs, the FDJ and other social organizations--ran central workers' festivals. They have turned into a significant high point of intellectual-cultural life, a persuasive exhibit of the cultural-creative forces of all GDR working people. The same applies to the culture festivals of socialist agriculture. Both are among the most important and unmistakable facts of our cultural bottom line in the 35th year of the GDR.

It is evident everywhere that the treasures of culture and art are used here, they are part and parcel of the working peoples' daily lives. That may be the greatest achievement with regard to the certainly not easy objective

we have pursued. In the course of constant intellectual debate, socialist culture and art, the socialist lifestyle have assumed increasingly precise features.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Hans Marchwitza once said: "Culture is every second heartbeat of our lives." Still, there are many who have not yet felt this "second heartbeat" inside themselves. What can and must be done to help each individual discover his "cultural heart"? After all, culture and art are often measured only by their top professional achievements. Does a residential district festival, for example, have only a subordinated role?

Hoffmann: By no means, but we do sometimes even now run across a narrow definition of the term "culture." Often it is interpreted as only art and literature. We, on the other hand, champion a perception of culture that is very much wider and extensive. Let me remind you of the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth SED Congress and, in particular, the Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum of 1972. Culture in socialism is not restricted to compartments such as literature and music, theater and film. The quality of work environment, the organization of the environment, culture in interpersonal relations, personal lifestyle and so on are all important elements of socialist culture. Socialist culture and the socialist lifestyle fuse. In this spirit it is necessary to even more stimulate and organize cultural efforts in factories and cooperatives. Cultural management operations, for example, should devote more attention to individual hobbies and pursuits which are also socially useful. Of late a greater awareness of nature and the environment has emerged in the GDR. Suburban recreational areas and parks, for example (by now we have almost 1,600 state approved suburban recreation areas) are being used intensively by our citizens. We must at all times be concerned with the further improvement and sophistication of the cultural offers. I believe that Marchwitza's famous remark should at this time inspire us mainly to organize the intellectual-cultural life in cities and small towns, in houses of culture, youth and village clubs, and so on, even more interestingly and attractively, consonant with the many and varied growing intellectual-cultural needs of our citizens. A residential district festival therefore is certainly not relegated to a subordinated role.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: When you addressed the Council on Culture, you said that the settlement of economic issues is far more intertwined with our cultural development than ever before, and that it is imperative for that reason to increase the "investment in intelligence." What do you mean by that?

Hoffmann: The consciousness of the working people, their will to work, their political and technical knowledge, their cultural standard are gaining more and more importance for the management of the complex national tasks of the 1980's. The intellectual-cultural potential of our society has become one of the most important growth factors. At the Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum, Erich Honecker put it like this: "By its intellectual potential and material resources, the GDR is able to realize the necessary rise in output in order in future also to successfully pursue the line of the main task."

It is obvious that the culture sector must and can contribute a great deal. The close link between a satisfactory cultural atmosphere in the factory and the creative efforts of the working people, for instance, is increasingly evident. In many combines, therefore, noticeable improvements on the job, the development of a diversified intellectual-cultural life are just as firm plan headings as are efficient production and rationalization. More "investments in intelligence"? Let me cite two examples: In 1983 roughly 2 million working people were involved in the innovator movement. The innovator achievements realized yielded a profit of M5.36 billion. In 1983, 10,515 patents were applied for in the GDR. The best combines record top international values with 12 and more patent applications a year per 100 research and development employees.

I think we all realize that such achievements--and they must go on--are largely due to the cultural standard of our society. The major financial investments completed and to be made in the cultural sector ultimately pay for themselves, because the encounter with culture and art frees creativity (to some extent thanks to its specific emotional effect), allows us to enjoy life, inspires reflection and contemplation as well as expands our outlook; it is able to help us to greater appreciation of the whole or of connections not immediately accessible, and it also offers solutions for developmental problems.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Many of our party members, professional and amateur artists, actively collaborate in the cultural life of our republic and the organization of intellectual-cultural life in the regions. What should they be specially concerned with in their future work?

Hoffmann: I quite agree that all over our republic artists and culture creators who are members of your party, have made significant contributions to the development of socialist national culture in our country and continue to do so. As on other occasions, I would like again to express my heartfelt thanks to them. We are just before the 35th anniversary of the GDR's foundation, and this anniversary reminds us most graphically of the historical, impressive and promising achievements produced with the guidance of the working class and its party in all spheres of social life, not least in the intellectual-cultural field. The power of workers and farmers and their resolute alliance were an indispensable prerequisite for these accomplishments. Constantly to reaffirm this alliance and always maintain its ability to cope with the challenges of our age and its struggles--that is the supreme commandment, specially in view of the very serious international situation and the threat to world peace posed by U.S. imperialism.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Last year we honored Martin Luther. The Goethe-Schiller tributes have been going on for some time. The Bach-Haendel-Schuetz year will follow in 1985. What is the long-term benefit of these tributes for the care of our heritage?

Hoffmann: As long ago as the 1970's, the construction of the developed socialist society resulted in growing attention being devoted to the study

and dissemination of the historical and cultural heritage in its full range and variety. Social scientists--philosophers, historians, art and culture historians--examined events and personalities more comprehensively and critically. They carefully investigated what was worth retaining from the past to be profitable for the present. Much new knowledge was gained, the image of our traditions became more sophisticated, variegated and extensive. Talking of "benefits beyond the present time," we should also emphasize that in many places these tributes inspire the closest cooperation of all state and social forces in the sphere of culture. By the way, nowadays many districts operate with long-range conceptions (decided upon by the district assemblies) on the nurture and socialist acquisition of the cultural heritage and the revolutionary traditions in their region. Thousands of citizens interested in culture contributed their thoughts, experiences and notions to these conceptions.

Indeed, we should not view the "benefits" of our centenary celebrations and anniversaries from too narrow an angle or in monetary terms, although we are obviously interested in the material values contributed by innumerable diligent and painstaking helpers in the shape of restored and newly conceived memorials, exhibitions, and so on. The most important result of all activities--beyond the particular date and occasion--consists in the further precise definition of socialist historical and national consciousness, the consolidation of the citizens' affection for their state, their gain in knowledge and new experiences as the result of their association with the great artists of our history.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Our drama, literature and fine arts, our creative workers in the theater, cinema and television are constantly called upon by the critics to shape our present age. What will have to be done so that modern creation better meets our needs?

Hoffmann: To begin with let me say that we have every reason to speak of a satisfactory and encouraging artistic bottom line. The artists of our republic present to the public many outstanding works and interpretations, work that demonstrates the vitality of socialist-realist artistic creation and responds to the working people's enormous interest in relevant, party-like and popular art, including modern creation. Necessarily arising from the requirements of the further evolution of the developed socialist society and the tense international situation are greater challenges, greater social requirements on art, particularly modern art, its active and specific collaboration in the solution of the historic tasks. That, however, does not just happen, it happens only by the conscious activism of the artists. Our age needs more new works of art that strengthen socialism, picture it as the only possible alternative for the progress of mankind, explain the identity of socialism and peace and focus on the active and history-making hero--the working class and its representatives. It is a vital task constantly and in many different ways to remind our artists of this duty.

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Many of our top interpreters and ensembles enjoy world renown. What is the situation with regard to the new generation of artists?

Hoffmann: The profile and standard of art in our country is increasingly codetermined by the capacities of young artists. The overwhelming majority

of them and their best works, their artistic and political commitment, are demonstrably active and conscious co-shapers of the socialist society. Taking into consideration the great need for young artists, student slots at the art colleges have been steadily increased. At no previous time in the GDR's history have so many young people been prepared for a career in art. The numbers of full-time students at GDR colleges and special schools of art grew from 1,860 in 1970 to well above 3,000 in the early 1980's. In response to practical needs, training has begun in some new art disciplines at GDR educational facilities, in addition to the rise in undergraduate slots. In 1976 choreographic training started at the Hans Otto College for Theater in Leipzig, and restoration is being taught at the College for Fine Arts in Dresden. The Dresden college added a department for costume design in 1982. For some years past, students at our colleges of music have been trained in the field of entertainment arts.

At the educational facilities, known artists act as teachers and pass on their experiences to the successor generations. In recent years, training has been organized so as to relate more to practice. I cite the examples of the permanent involvement of all music students in the republic's orchestras (including the leaders in the field) and the inclusion of students of drama in theatrical productions.

Generous public subsidies provide good conditions for the graduates to develop their art. As a matter of course (just as free-of-charge schooling and state grants) a job is available for every graduate. I consider this satisfactory preconditions for top achievers to develop from the "artistic successor generation."

NATIONAL ZEITUNG: Each year many of our orchestras, theatrical troupes and entertainment artists go abroad for guest appearances. Conversely, many top international ensembles and interpreters perform here. What is the internal and external significance of the internationalist nature of our culture and art?

Hoffmann: The internationalist nature of our culture and art is intrinsic our socialist German national culture. By its specific resources it contributes to the realization of the basic objectives of GDR domestic and foreign policy: For one to do everything to strengthen socialism on German soil, for the other to do everything to defuse the international situation and safeguard peace. Particularly important in this context is the further deepening of cultural cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the adjustment and reciprocal enrichment of their cultures.

Let me point out that the culture and art of the socialist fraternal countries, especially the USSR, is constantly and variously present on our stages, screens, in our concert halls, at exhibitions, in bookstores and discotheques, clubs and houses of culture. Indeed, we might well claim that this presence is a decisive feature of intellectual-cultural life in the GDR. The same course is followed by the mainstream of cultural exchanges, the reciprocal dispatch of ensembles, soloists, artist collectives, and so on, to the

Soviet Union and the socialist fraternal countries, and vice versa. Our cultural relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are also a firm element of our country's foreign policy and reflect our active solidarity with all peoples struggling for their national and social liberation. Our special sympathy is with those countries which have chosen to move toward a socialist development. Cultural relations with capitalist industrial countries, especially cooperation with all peace loving, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in these countries, also serve the preservation of peace.

We consider the constant presence of mankind's progressive, humanist culture--in first place Soviet culture and art--as well as the effective representation of our socialist culture abroad, an indispensable contribution to the affirmation of peace, cooperation among peoples, detente, the presentation of the historical superiority of socialism as a social system and the identity of peace and socialism. At the same time, this internationalist nature of our culture and art represents an effective barrier to reactionary and imperialist ideology, specially anticommunism. Now more than ever it is imperative to unmask anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and to counter preconceived notions, blanket judgements and stereotypes of socialism with the truth about socialism, the socialist society and its culture, our humanist concerns, our conception of life.

In this context I would like to express my appreciation to the NATIONAL ZEITUNG for its help with the implementation of GDR cultural policy, the quality of its journalism. I also send my best regards to its readers.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STOPH ASSESSED ON 70TH BIRTHDAY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Jul 84 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, head of the Berlin editorial staff: "Perhaps the Only Red Prussian--Willi Stoph, Prime Minister of the GDR, Turns 70"]

[Text] Prime Minister Willi Stoph has had a big hand in fashioning the 35-year history of the GDR. He appears as a somewhat wooden bookkeeper type, to be sure, yet his immense diligence, incorruptibility and straightforwardness together with a definite organizational talent are virtues simply not found often among "politbureaucrats." Not a sanguine leadership character, but a reliable administrator--an ideal second in command.

The second man in the GDR is what Stoph has been at least since the power shifted from Ulbricht to Honecker. A second man, however, who never could become the first. When Ulbricht's power ended in 1971, not last because of the urgings from the Soviets, people familiar with the Soviet brand of the communist system knew at once that the successor could only be Honecker. He was the man of the party while Stoph was "only" the administrator, the state functionary. The party in such a totalitarian system is the leadership power that shapes things; the state's only function is to realize the party's will through its administrations. Stoph has always recognized that through all his long political life. The Prime Minister, 70 years old today, is the man who on top of the state apparatus carries out the policy formulated by the party. A powerful man, to be sure, and one against whose will nothing can be enforced, yet a loyal man at the same time. He never saw a rival in Honecker but accepted and respected him as number one. Honecker in turn knows he can rely on Stoph.

To the Soviets Stoph has always been a guarantee that uncontrollable developments would not occur in the GDR. They also can rely on him. And it is not likely to have been a coincidence that it was Stoph who through meeting with FRG Chancellor Brandt in Erfurt and Kassel in 1970 got the German-German detente process going, which Ulbricht had not wanted but the Soviets did want. Stoph, who built up the GDR army for the Russians in the 1950's, evaded that task as little as any other tasks assigned to him. At times he even seemed to find it fun to test his strength on new tasks.

Born in Berlin on 9 July 1914 into a working class family, even as a young man, after his apprenticeship as a bricklayer, he would assign new tasks to himself--completing correspondence courses on construction at the time--seeking to solve them with a bookkeeper-type of accuracy. That is an essential feature this

man has who, as far as one can judge from the outside, has no real enemies either in the SED or in the GDR state apparatus. Stoph found himself at home among the communists early. A member of the communist youth association and the trade union at 14, he joins the KPD at 17. The People's Chamber handbook records his participation in the illegal antifascist resistance struggle from 1933 till 1945. It is documented that he took care of his military service obligation between 1935 and 1937 and served as a staff corporal with an artillery unit in World War II. Whether he truly acted as a spy and courier for the communists has never been fully clarified.

After the war he devoted himself first to the reconstruction of industry and construction in the Soviet zone of occupation, holding various executive positions, from 1948 to 1950 as the head of the economic policy department in the SED executive. He also rises in the party. He becomes SED Central Committee member in 1950 and Central Committee secretary (till 1953), and after 17 June 1953 he becomes Zaisser's successor in the Politburo. Having proven a good organizer in economic policy, Stoph in 1951 gets the task to build up an armed force for the GDR. This is another task the inconspicuous pragmatist takes care of at the satisfaction of those who assigned it to him, not only in East Berlin. The Garrisoned People's Police he set up as the minister of the interior (1952-1955) becomes the National People's Army, the police commander, the colonel general of the army and, in 1956, the first GDR minister for defense. Stoph holds that office until 1960 which he then--after being promoted to general of the army, hands over to Heinz Hoffmann to assume the task, as one of the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers (since 1954) in July 1960 to coordinate the SED and government resolutions in the state apparatus. In 1962 Stoph becomes the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and, after Otto Grotewohl, sick for a long time, dies, in September 1964, prime minister--the second one in the GDR.

At the same time he becomes deputy chairman of the State Council, of which he has been a member since 1963. After the death of State Council chairman Ulbricht, whom Honecker had replaced as party boss in June 1971 and neutralized, Stoph in October 1973 has to surrender his post of chief of government to Horst Sindermann, who rates as a socialist manager and whom Honecker had charged with implementing his new course of "unified economic and social policies." The compensations he gets is the dignity of the chairman of the State Council, but not before in July 1972, through the law on the Council of Ministers, the State Council was notably cut back in its competencies. Evidently without grudge Stoph assumes the new task, who even then seems to have some health problems. Maybe he wanted to retreat into a calmer and more representational job. Yet the Sindermann experiment misfired. Not last, the Soviets were displeased with Sindermann's policy they did not always find plausible. Besides, party boss Honecker sought to be more than number one de facto yet also, as "chief of state," equal in protocol to foreign chiefs of government and presidents as his partners in talks and negotiations. In October 1976 Sindermann is demoted to president of the People's Chamber. Honecker has himself made chairman of the State Council--now as the chief of the party and the state entirely Ulbricht's successor and heir. The proven, reliable and plausible Stoph, appreciated by the Soviets, resumes the office of chief of government and simultaneously again becomes deputy chairman of the State Council. Stoph did not mind this back and forth but did his duty loyally. Wherever the party or its chief placed



him, he did all he could and did his duty, even when he had to pay tribute to illness and old-age. Even Stoph's political adversaries cannot gainsay the respect they have for this old communist. He is a red Prussian, one of the few, if not the only one, in the GDR.

5885

CSO: 2300/573

UNIVERSITIES URGED TO EXPORT KNOWLEDGE, SELL STUDENT SLOTS

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 32 No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 15 May 84) pp 185-186

[Article by Dr Joerg Froebel, personal academic assistant to the deputy minister for university and technical school affairs of the GDR: "First Export Conference of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs]

[Text] In the 35th anniversary year of our republic, the scholars and employees of the 29 universities, colleges and medical academies as well as the 17 science libraries and museums of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs wish to achieve challenging objectives with regard to the export of knowledge--based on the further improvement of our capacity in education, training, further education, research, medical care and scientific appliance construction. Consequent upon the successful development of the capacity of our universities, the close and fruitful scientific cooperation with some 300 universities and colleges in socialist countries as well as extensive solidarity services, the GDR university system has earned international esteem permitting a further strengthening of university export services to capitalist industrial countries and developing nations.

The 180 representatives of the university system--well-known scholars including more than 80 full professors--delegated to the export conference held on 22 and 23 March 1984 at Martin-Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, unanimously agreed this challenging target.

The attendants at the conference displayed the utmost commitment when discussing how economic results from science and technology as well as our internationally respected achievements in education, training, further education and medical care may even more comprehensively contribute to the strengthening of the GDR's export potential and, therefore, to the successful realization of the economic strategy initiated by the Tenth SED Congress.

Immediately following the 1984 Leipzig Spring Fair, it was found useful within the scope of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs and relying on the perceptions of 1982 and 1983, to organize a broad exchange of opinions and experiences in the field of exports among the universities and their facilities. To be discussed at the same time were assignments and steps with respect to the development of stable export lines through 1990.

The main address given by Comrade Professor Garscha, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs, dealt with the experiences, problems and objectives in the export of services and results of the university system. It provided the basic orientation for future exports by universities, colleges, medical academies and science libraries. Referring to the requirements listed in the main address, Comrade Groschupf, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs, described licensing as an intrinsic element of research at university facilities. The orientations formulated in the main address were complemented by other reports at the plenary session of the conference. Professor Stein and Professor Brendel, first vice-chancellors of Karl-Marx University Leipzig and the Technical University Karl-Marx Stadt respectively, shared their experiences in the realization of exports and reported on the successful evolution of political attitudes toward export tasks among members of the universities.

The exchange of experiences continued in six study groups, with the aim of inspiring new initiatives for exports on the basis of the purposeful performance development in education, training, further education, medical care and scientific appliance construction.

Based on these concerns of the conference, the following principal perceptions should be emphasized:

1. Universities, colleges and other scientific institutions with their enormous intellectual potential have available sufficient capacities to further strengthen the GDR's export powers by the fulfillment of state plan tasks. This was amply demonstrated by last year's export achievements.

The great political and economic place value of the university system's export achievements is obvious when we take into account the fact that the consistent fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the export obligations assigned provide a direct contribution to the increase in our republic's disposable national income and affect the relative drop in production consumption.

To do justice to the growing importance of immaterial exports for the national economy as the objectively necessary supplement to material exports, means to further develop exports by the university system by:

- The purposeful utilization and wider use of available scientific-technological results and traditional services (training and further education services, medical services, engineering and consulting services, and so on) of the universities, and
- The provision of special services (advice, expert opinions, among others) as well as of order-specific scientific-technological services precisely tailored to specific customer needs.

2. The export of knowledge by the universities can be realized with the greatest possible economic effect and for a long time to come, if it is directly linked to the traditional primary processes of education, training,

further education, research, medical care and scientific appliance construction. The efficiency of these primary processes and its further improvement represent the qualitative basis of the services and knowledge offered for export.

For intensification to achieve comprehensive national aspects, we need to presume that the realization of export services by university facilities is made effective as a direct indicator of the efficiency of the primary processes, in other words education, training, further education, research, medical care and scientific appliance construction. Consequently the national requirements on the further increase in the export potential of the university system are essentially demands on continuing improvement in the efficiency of the primary processes on the basis of intensification, that is with equal or even lower material and financial funds.

The provision of training services including individual student slots on a commercial basis have already.....[line missing--translator]to assist educational advances in the developing countries. In pursuit of international trends, the efficient scientific capacities of the universities must be even more compellingly oriented to economic aspects by the development of export services and results in the form of licenses, engineering and consulting services and medical services.

3. The purposeful development of the sale of scientific-technological knowledge, especially from the aspect of the use of research results under license, is considered a significant source of improved university export efficiency. To be successful, licensing efforts must begin when research objectives are drafted. This is to be done by including licensing measures in the tasking workbooks and firmly rooting them in research plans, subject to checks.

First experiences demonstrate that university licensing offers are most efficiently sold by cooperating with the industrial combines and within the framework of their plant exports.

This approach helps the universities to directly participate in the international renown and marketing expertise of the industrial combines, the latter to profit from the efficiency of the university system.

4. The desired stability of exports is directly linked to the contract fidelity of each university vis-a-vis the foreign customer. Regardless whether training, engineering or consulting services, licenses, software solutions or medical services are involved. each contract-appropriate and high-quality performance serves in the long term to consolidate the reputation, attraction and confidence in the efficiency of our colleges and universities. The most efficient and internationally best known university teachers should lend their names as guarantors of the quality and international standard of our offers; that is the very best reference for the capacity of our outstanding educational facilities.

All scholars and employees of college facilities must be aware of these issues. They demonstrate that great personal commitment is needed to carry

out the export strategies of our universities. The improvement of export efficacy, therefore, is primarily a politico-ideological challenge.

The wealth of experience of university teachers with regard to politico-ideological education must be utilized for the export of training and further education services, because just in this type of service the "purchaser" is involved at every stage of the provision of such services and experiences the method of provision.

Contract fidelity in this context also means that university teachers must achieve.....[line missing--translation] the objective of the training and the undergraduate graduation, without the challenging educational standards being lowered.

5. The more efficient organization and purposeful expansion of international university relations must be considered a significant reserve for the more aggressive and publicity-effective selling of exports by the university system. A broad range of knowledge, technology and university services was successfully offered at the 1984 Leipzig Spring Fair with the slogan "your problem--our solution." The experience gained with the solicitation and initiation of export transactions must be further generalized and quickly applied.

We expect scholars at our universities and colleges at scientific conferences with international attendance and at fairs at home and abroad more emphatically to use their reputation and renown to document the readiness of their university facilities to sell services and scientific-technological knowledge.

6. The majority of university employees consider the build-up of stable and university-specific export lines a personal challenge to their capacity. The attendants at the export conference declared that they will take the lead in the battle for the plan fulfillment of 1984 exports and provide the services required.

At all universities and colleges, NSW [non-socialist monetary area] exports of knowledge have developed into an important objective in conjunction with the improvement of the efficacy of the traditional primary processes.

The Halle conference--an expansive exchange of experiences among scholars and representatives of foreign trade facilities--generalized the examples of the best colleges and provided a great deal of inspiration for the discovery of further reserves for the foreign trade utilization of the services of the GDR university system.

11698

CSO: 2300/586

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

VISITING JOURNALIST DETAILS INDOCTRINATION

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22-23 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by R. St., Vienna correspondent, datelined East Berlin in July:  
"Socialism Without Winking--Notes From a Visit in the GDR"]

[Text] Peace. For a whole week there hardly ever is a conversation in the GDR that would fail to remind us right from the start of this state's peace policy. Whatever we are talking about, environmental protection or the manufacture of optical instruments, foreign trade or the housing construction policy of the city of Dresden, everything here must relate to peace. The entrance gate of the Berlin-Marzahn machine tool factory displays a U.S.-Soviet Union cross section comparison of ten points. Ten times the enterprise committee documents the Soviet Union's will to peace; ten times the United States is accused of obstruction and warmongering. That is the spirit in which medieval zealots would divide the world in terms of good and evil; and indeed, when we suggest to them these all too gross simplifications, even the managers taking us through the enterprise become embarrassed.

Bert Brecht's dramatic atrocity tale, "Die Rundkoepfe und die Spitzkoepfe" [The Roundheads and the Peakheads], which we attend at the end of our stay at the Deutsche Theater, is a splendid paraphrase of this attitude that attributes the best intentions to oneself and the worst to the political adversary. This dated play, in which Brecht anticipated Hindenburg's handing the power over to Hitler, describes in the part that transcends its topical aspect the fight between two differently armed ethnic groups, the Czooks and the Czeeks, and concludes with these timeless words:

"And must we now gain peace by fighting for it--  
For peace is now our one and only motto.

Peace and peace and peace again--so be it  
no tepid but a Czookish peace!

And he who puts himself against this peace, shall  
be destroyed just as the sickle was

and extirpated as the sickle was."

## Why Nothing About the Peace Movement?

Is it unfair to invoke the gala poet of the first German workers and farmers state as a crown witness for the difference between genuine peace efforts and a super-imposed peace? Is one to contend that his metaphor is unsuitable to explaining the situation of today? Then there arises the question of course why officially no meeting with members of the peace movement had been scheduled. It very bravely came out against missiles in both military blocs a year ago. A single time it was referred to on the side, when a 45-year old manager mentioned as a horrifying story that even he had not been immune in his youth to the temptation to join the peace movement, but at advancing age he now understood how dangerous such activities were. The peace movement in the West, however, continues to be rated officially as a positive manifestation.

## What About the New Start?

Competent art and culture specialists, kind and even highly decent escorts, in part open-minded and then again merely careerist industrial managers of the middle-class and ministerial civil servants who will not take one step beyond the norm in talking and cannot be induced to smile or make any self-critical remark-- that is how the GDR receives Swiss journalists who admittedly had been invited. No politician, not even those of middle grades, would be willing to say anything above and beyond what one had already gotten black on white. After 90 trips behind the Iron Curtain, after hundreds of meetings with Slavic, Hungarian, Romanian and Albanian communists, I had hoped that this time, on my 91st visit to a German land, I would gain deeper insights into the functioning of real socialism. The contrary was the case. Hardly ever did the facade remain more intact and the distance more insurmountable than where those who took part in the conversations used the same vernacular.

If there is now any new start in the GDR (as one could presume there was in view of the rise of new talents like Egon Krenz, Konrad Naumann and Herbert Haeber), those we talked to managed to keep it secret. Their point was to present the GDR to us as a solid, unshakable structure. Unforgettable is how two female city deputies in Dresden one evening declaimed the credit balance of socialism, one of them resorting to all the party wisdom she had swallowed for refuting questions no one had even intended to ask.

## The Pleasant Exceptions

Sure: measuring everyone we met with the same yardstick would be unfair to those who are honestly trying. Still you hardly dare comment in any detail about those with whom interesting conversations going beyond ideological barriers were possible. When not even the higher officials can give concrete answers to concrete questions and pretend, say, that they have not yet studied the CEMA summit resolutions, any sentence deviating from the preassigned schema can become fatal. Still it must be admitted that the requirement that by 1987 all roofs in Dresden will have to be tight evokes embarrassment rather than gratification from some people and that there are curators in the magnificent picture gallery of Dresden who admit without much fuss in the Rembrandt room that for the correct attribution of the paintings barely half had been certified and the provenance of the rest was under study. Deeply impressed on my memory

finally is the remark of a guide at the end of an unscheduled visit to a church. Enthusiastic about all the beautiful things half a millenium old, he threw out the rhetorical question what in our era might still be worth observing after so long a time. In Hungary and Poland the people one talks to can without trouble be answerable for what they say; in the GDR one cannot help the impression they would have to expect disadvantages from doing so.

### Secrets of Economic Policy

In the country at large--another report will go into this--talking is easier. Managers of cooperatives know, however strongly they may be anchored within the party, that a hail storm can hurt ambitious planning quotas, having kept alive a perception of the relativity of economic success. Responsible industrial directors sent us greetings through their press and public relations officers. Sure enough, the achievements of Carl Zeiss Jena could be substantiated through written data and films, and if all social welfare services are as fine as the enterprise-owned health service we had to resort to, it provides the undertaking with fine marks. As to the enterprise policy, one would have liked to hear something about it from an authoritative party. It was interesting to see how a sales director in a hotel with a foreign clientele, fully remaining within the system, was seeking ways to make his offer attractive.

Revealing was how efficient managerial personnel of the medium age generation at a machine factory proudly remarked their products last year, after good successes in Western Europe, had gotten a foothold on the American market and they were doing all they could to hold that position. They would often talk about the need for producing high-grade commodities, not so often about how that was to be accomplished. This clearly brought out the conflict between a state that provides for the people, where in principle no one may lose his job, and the performance demands made on the individual. What extra earnings an individual may have through excellent achievements appear puny to us, and doubts arise whether the scale of incentives as explained to us suffices. On the other hand, it is obvious that a worker in the GDR approaches his job with more of a work ethic than a colleague in one of his East European neighboring states.

### The German Fatherland

What does the GDR aspiration that has frequently been cited in recent times of being the true preserver of the German cultural legacy amount to? Unter den Linden in Berlin, Frederick the Great rides horseback again, in Dresden, at the Platz der Befreiung, a brass and golden Frederick August I, as the Polish king August the Strong. Goethe, so we were told in Weimar, is not regarded as an Olympian here, but as a man of his own time. The layman still takes that as plausible access. He also is willing to believe that the young Goethe, together with his patron Duke Carl August, had at times raised hell in Weimar and made the population mad. What is disturbing only is that then high politics makes the genius serve its own end, without any reservation. For all that, the rank of Goethe is not in question to literary scholarship here either.



August the Strong has been reevaluated. When he was still in school, someone in his mid-forties told me, the extensive use this swinging prince had made of the "ius primae noctis" had been greatly emphasized, and the lack of a sense of responsibility had been deplored in a man who had spawned as many children as a year has days. Meanwhile the emphasis has shifted: he had a highly developed sense of art to which Dresden owes so many treasures, and was of a "peaceful persuasion" that kept him from conducting wars himself but made him sell the soldiers to the ruler of Prussia, using the revenue from it for countless diamonds, pearls and gold vessels housed in the Green Vault and making up the largest treasure in Europe. As the promotion of soldiers' training for the purpose of acquiring works of art can hardly be the ultimate point of a progressive persuasion, one can look forward with interest to further developments in the rating of historic personalities, even to a comparison with the Great Elector and Frederick II.

That the GDR makes the claim within its boundaries the true values of Germany were being preserved whereas in the West much was being sacrificed to the spirit of the time, is slightly exaggerated. For all that, they would like to put up a counterpoint to the somewhat perfunctory and at times sloppy dealing with the cultural past that has spread through a part of the West German consumer society and is being nurtured by some communication media. They are banking on solidity, and among people who are not ideologically distorted one can still sense something like love for the matter they are dealing with. The fulness of detail in their talk is pleasant. Among the best art and culture interpreters, the references to Marxism-Leninism have an arabesque quality. It is up to the listener whether to regard that as a dutiful exercise or as an essential element of whatever is being conveyed.

5885

CSO: 2300/584

GROUND SUPPORT FOR AIR OPERATIONS DETAILED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 18 Apr 84) pp 36-42

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "Safely Back to the Earth"]

[Text] "The developed communications air traffic control facilities are ready for the combat training of the air forces. There are no limitations." When Captain Nistripke, chief of the air traffic control company, on the day before the flight, reports this to his battalion commander, it sounds like a promise to the aircraft commanders of the "Hermann Matern" fighter squadron. It means that all communications connections, radio and radar stations, navigation and light measuring installations have been checked, and the communications and air traffic control specialists, radio operators, radar men, telephones, radar dispatchers and mechanics are ready to guarantee the control of all flights within the air control area. It means that the company with its equipment intends to assure this time as well the starts, flights in the area, and landings without exception and without failure under all meteorological and tactical conditions. A job the comrades must give themselves at all times. Combat ready -- for them this is high technical knowledge and ability, perfect mastery of the equipment, careful repair and maintenance. A few episodes from the life of the company may make this clear.

In Spite of Rain Clouds at Night

There is half-darkness in the small room of the display unit squad. Over the intercom system orders resound from the command post. The monotonously humming ventilators struggle in vain against the oppressive closeness. Noncommissioned Officer Guenther, the senior radar dispatcher, gazes intently at the screen with the circling deflection beam, which round by round shows the movements of the antenna. Far away fly twelve MiG's, fulfilling a training task. After their exercise the noncommissioned officer, together with the landing controller, must lead them to the home field to the correct runway. But will they be able to return?

Outside it has begun to rain hard; the night clouds are very low. With the appearance of such weather it would be necessary to send the MiG's to an alternate landing field. But from the command post comes the order: "Impossible. Weather there, too. Must land here!" "Oh, that'll be hard," Comrade Guenther sighs. The landing controller is already giving the order: "Keep a distance of ten kilometers because of the weather!" Then three dots of light appear on his screen, the first aircraft. The noncommissioned officer identifies them as friendly, notes their indices, their recognition sign on a register and finds out who has the least amount of gas left. This aircraft must land first. Will the first approach succeed, will the pilot recognize the place on time? Or must he perhaps go around and enter a second approach? Lutz Guenther knows his responsibility to allow no complication to arise, to arrange the MiG's alternately, one after another, exactly, but also continually on the landing field. "Course 180 ... approach flight 2,150 meters ... turn into the landing pattern..." he says to the pilot and sees to it that the command is correctly carried out, that the aircraft makes the correct turn, that international flight lanes or security zones are not violated.

Now he is already talking to the other pilots. New considerations are necessary because every aircraft flies differently, creates a different situation. Take the left one first, the dispatcher thinks, it has the favorable course, needs no difficult maneuver. Then the next one ... Watch out! The first MiG is approaching the runway. Speed about 450-500 km/h. Now it is turned over to the landing controller: "At 20 kilometers, index 221." "Got it," he replies. The two are synchronized, understand one another. Essential, particularly in this complicated landing process where things go rapidly and the pilots recognize the field just seconds before touchdown. Noncommissioned Officer Guenther hears the sound of motors from outside; the sign that the first MiG has just landed. A smile slips hurriedly across his face. He wipes the sweat from his brow, notes the order of the next aircraft that will fly into the receiving area of the radar landing equipment; worries about every moving point of light on his screen, observes how the pilots follow the course he has ordered.

One MiG after the other lands on the runway, drawing a stream of spraying wetness behind it -- from the first flight with no damage! When after 25 minutes the last aircraft lands, everyone in the room breathes more easily and leans back with sweated-through shirts: "Man-oh-man-- not so fast again!" But the squadron commander acted quickly as he praised them all.

#### When the Electric Power Unit Failed

Teamleader Noncommissioned Officer Thieme and Noncommissioned Officer Boehm, a still inexperienced radio operator, receive the job of setting up their radio station in the field, several kilometers from the airfield. There young pilots will practice dogfight maneuvers and both of them must support them in this. The noncommissioned officers are happy because on the day before they brought everything into tiptop order and checked it. And still -- after an hour comes a call for help to the air control center: "Electric power unit unstable. Request a new one."

Warrant Officer Pikos starts out, brings a reserve unit to the installation, connects it. It works perfectly. The pilot training can therefore continue undisturbed. But after 15 minutes the unit fails. Change to the first unit. Then there is a short circuit in the distributor. The radio station is without power! What now? Break off the training, drive back to the airfield, check everything there quietly? The warrant officer rejects this thought. Flight hours cost a lot of money. Lots of people and equipment are involved. You can't leave the unit in the lurch!

Warrant Officer Pikos calms Noncommissioned Officer Boehm, who has become nervous, and he does not allow himself to be infected with the excitement of the flight controller. To be sure, the latter is working with a small reserve station, but it has only a short range, and the air traffic control can soon no longer be guaranteed with it. So the exercise would have to be put off after all.

The warrant officer spreads out a circuit diagram, checks fuzes and current stabilizers, goes around and around after the trouble, and finally comes to a burned out coil in a relay. A short time later the trouble is corrected. The unit runs! A tension-filled half hour has passed. There was no pause in the pilot training!

"Keep cool and don't lose the big picture!" says Rudolf Pikos, the experienced specialist, to the two radiomen. "And then proceed logically and think about it. Many things will work out."

#### Landing Lights -- Individual and in Series

The Soviet friends from the partner unit come to visit. After sport and games and lunch the specialists are shown the equipment. Carefully they look around in the air control section. Some things are new to them.

Pyoter Orlov, Major and deputy to the commander for equipment, is particularly interested in the remote control of the landing lights. Individually or in groups the lights can be turned off or on again along the runway at the height of the touchdown point. The guests explain that the lights were redone in the factory, but that the remote control device came from the workplace of the air controller in accordance with an assigned project in his own area. "Good, economic solution," the Soviet major said. At his airfield they were still done locally at the equipment itself. Couldn't be compared with the one here. "May I have a construction drawing?" the major asked his guests. His request is fulfilled, a copy of the wiring circuit is produced. "And when you make the model, we will help you." This went without saying, just as in a reverse situation some months before. Then, too, Soviet sergeants and officers were guests of the air control company. Our comrades turned to a senior radar mechanic to see whether he could look in on their radar station. Their system for fixed target suppression and with this the improvement of the work at low altitudes and in bad weather was not functioning. Clouds and terrain objects appeared too strongly on the screen. The sergeant did not have to be told twice. "Where is the equipment?" He tested, measured, compared, changed, found the

trouble our people didn't know about. Since then this operating mode functions "harasho" on the screen.

#### Remote Control with Electronics

"Now I have had enough of this foolishness!" An angry look of Noncommissioned Officer Richter meets the remote control stand for the radio marking places outside the the airfield. Again there will be trouble if it is out of order. The ravages of time work particularly on these relay stations. Replacement parts are hard to get, but old relays are not contact safe and therefore do not always give the real state of operational readiness. Each time someone must drive many kilometers. There should be a way to change this! He thinks of a stand with an electronic circuit because he is an electronics specialist. He gathers those of like minds around him. With Junior Warrant Officer Fiedler, Noncommissioned Officer Student Schulz, and Private Biehl he forms a Youth Inventors Collective. Material is bought, and for weeks they experiment. They must look a long time to see which construction materials are best suited. After two months the project is completed. On the evening before his discharge Comrade Richter welds the last cable in. An apparatus as large as a radio receiver, easily inspectable and easy to service, accurately working and not easily disturbed. Small lights show the disturbance-free work of the apparatus. "It's tops," Comrade Fiedler, the team leader of the radio marking places, said.

Inventive ideas are not unusual in the company. Thus Captain Fieting, now a student at a Soviet military academy, developed a direction-finding training apparatus that even received international recognition. It is an encoding apparatus that is joined to a tape recorder and a direction-finding sighting apparatus. Direction-finder operators are trained here in German and Russian in operations that are close to actual practice. "Much more effective than the previous training equipment," the trainers say. From the division staff he received a gold medal at the MMM. Officers of the Polish Air Force were very enthusiastic when the machine was presented at a performance show there. "Dobry, dobry," the comrades cried out, and presented two silver medals of recognition.

#### The Mixed-up Radio Beacons

The weather aircraft lands with positive results for combat training. Its pilot has reported favorable meteorological conditions on the planned flight path. Therefore the combat training of the fighter pilots can begin as planned, the MiG's can be called to the runway. Again the man on duty at the air control center looks at the stand. Suddenly he stops: "What? That can't be right!" The optical indicator of the surveillance receiver ist not blinking correctly, is bringing confused signals and side noises. He presses a few buttons and regulates the adjustment, but nothing changes! Then he is certain: In addition to the radio beacon of the alternate landing direction, that of the main landing direction has suddenly turned on. A one-time situation that never turned up before! The well-defined navigation of the pilots is not possible; they are getting irritated. Alarm for the duty squad of the air control platoon!

Sgt. Richter, the squad leader, and Private Flegel, the mechanic, jump into their duty vehicle, an UAZ, drive to the radio beacon a few miles away. Will they win the battle against time? Will they be smart enough to discover the trouble, to eliminate it? Will the daily flight take place, the many preparations not have been in vain? Comrade Richter feels that the comrades of the squadron are waiting for the two of them, that the punctual start depends upon them. He knows what he must do, and he shuts off the apparatus. With this, the operational readiness of the system is again in effect, and pilot navigation is well-defined. Training can begin. Now they have to find the trouble in the defective remote control apparatus that made individual operation necessary and get rid of it. Systematically he checks one part after the other. After 20 minutes he finds a burned out precision fuze and changes it. An improbable part had at first kept the MiG's on the ground. Small cause, great effect. They both are greatly relieved when the NCO can reach for the telephone and report: "Cause of the trouble removed, radio beacon again operationally ready!"

The comrades of the air control company are partners of the pilots, help them to master their flights, to fulfill the combat mission. Minutes, sometimes even seconds, decide the success of the operation. Trust in the solid equipment and work of the comrades on the ground, on their comrades in arms, is indispensable. Major Dobberstein, former pilot and now controller, says of this: "Flying is landing. Above all, these comrades help the fighter pilots to a safe return to the earth. They must rely on their data, for in the cockpit there is no time to think about it." The comrades of the air control company, and all of the personnel of the communications and air control battalion, have often proved in recent years that they are reliable. There were no failures they were guilty of and that would have led to a stoppage of combat pilot training. No start was late, no alternate airfield had to be flown to because of them because landing on their own field was unsafe. About 15,000 flying hours were ensured in this way. Their contribution to the defense of the air space of our republic. And thus it also shall be in the year of the 35th birthday -- this they have undertaken.

9124

CSO: 2300/579

# TENSION EVIDENT BETWEEN PRIVATE, STATE TAXIS

Budapest BUDAPEST in Hungarian No 5, 1984 pp 5-7

[Article by Laszlo Hollos: "Is Robbery Still Permitted?"]

[Text] Blaha Lujza square, one o'clock in the morning. There are 5 cabs waiting at the Fotaxi [Capital City Taxi] station. Further, behind a call stall there is a private taxi. The man coming from the direction of the underpass does not walk down to the head of the line. He gets into the private taxi.

"Ah, order means nothing here!"--shurges the first Fotaxi driver with resignation. If the customer "picks" the privateer, he takes the passenger. Often the private cabs back up in front of us as if they were first in line. A few months earlier when they were still working for Fotaxi they were the ones most upset about these things. But now they are the arrogant ones. We don't take them to task. Why should we? Robbery is being sanctioned now. Yes, I know, they want to make money, too. I feel there is a problem with the system. Perhaps if it were decided that any cab can get into the call stalls there would be fewer arguments.

"We really felt it when the private taxis first appeared in Budapest in 1982," says P. who is considered an old fox among the "checkers." "Many people left the company. I kept thinking about it, too, whether I should get a private cab license. Then the situation changed. Many private cab owners wanted to get rich too quickly, even charged the passenger 60-80 forints for a 40 forint ride. They gradually ruined their reputations and people left them. It is no accident that the majority of passengers prefer to take the meter-equipped state taxi. Personally I have no quarrel with the private taxi drivers, the only thing that bugs me is when they are arrogant. Sometimes they block me in so badly that I simply cannot get out of the station. I have to be practically a gymnast to get out. Another thing that happens sometimes is that the privateer gets picky. The other day one of them sent his passenger to me saying that he is not willing to go from the Southern Railway Station to Kekgolyo street. Fortunately arguments are rare nowadays. But in any case at the start rules should have been made as to what private taxis are allowed to do and what they aren't. They failed to do this."

Lajos Gergely has been working at Fotaxi for a year as a part-time driver.

"I am rather distrustful of the private taxis. They often violate the unwritten taxi rules. It could also be, of course, that they are forced to do so. The basic conflict could be caused by the fact that we must drive and take the fares while the privateer works whenever he wants to."

#### 'I Am My Own Boss'

On 31 December 1983 there were 3,313 private taxis in Budapest. In one year their number increased by over 1,300. Of these 1,674 do it as their main jobs, 1,538 are in employed situations and 101 are people who are engaged in this as a small enterprise. About 30 percent of the private cab drivers used to work for Fotaxi at one time. Antal Mathesz is one who quit Fotaxi and tried his luck as a private cab driver.

"Many people think that a private cab is a terrific business. But if they only knew how high the overhead is! A checkered working nights at times and days at times can make an average of 8,000 forints a month. A privateer can make 14,000-15,000 but he must work very hard. In addition, they deduct the taxes, the SZTK [Trade Union Social Insurance Center] payments, car insurance, the KIOSZ [National Association of Small Businessmen] membership fee, occasional repair costs, and at least 1,000 forints per month must be saved for a new car. The black marketeers who drive without a permit and the "hungry" private taxi drivers who want to make money at any cost leave a bad effect on our good name. Because of the competition, at times we are forced to be more arrogant. Taxi drivers are constantly "educating" each other. For example, if a privateer cuts in front of a Fotaxi cab who is cruising with his available sign on, the checker will get after him and gets "glued to him" so tight that the private cab is unable to stop and pick up the fare. In the past it even happened sometimes that the checkers blocked in the private cab waiting at a Fotaxi station so that he was unable to leave."

After finishing college, Bela Podmaniczky worked in his profession for two months, then became a passenger transport businessman. He has been driving a private cab for a year and a half.

"Driving a cab is not my career goal but its freedom is very attractive to me. And, of course, I also come out ahead financially. I have a Diesel-Volga, I repair my own car, and thus my profit is higher than the average. I have made 10,000 forint a month so far. Driving a private cab is not the same as if I had a boutique or fried dough stand. It is difficult to come up with something new, something more attractive. The fare we charged was our only ace in the hole. But the word spread quickly that private taxis are expensive. It does not help if I charge less than the others, it is not written on the outside of my car. I had several thousand cards printed: I am offering long distance trips at cut rates. I threw these into the mailboxes of the surrounding houses. So far I had only one or two such trips, and last time they even cheated me."



The conflicts do not bother me. I do not park in the Fotaxi's stands, and will not beg at the airport for a 'well paying' trip or two, either. I'd rather run over to Lorinc [Pestszentlorinc]. The crew has pretty well changed at Fotaxi. The drivers--I respect the exceptions to this--are aggressive. They obey the KRESZ [Traffic Regulations for Public Thoroughfares] but that's about it. And the private cabbies? Well, that's the other good company! At times my passengers tell rather wild stories about my colleagues. But at least they stick together, one does not feel the battle of competition among them."

"There were too many restrictions at Fotaxi, I was always driving a different cab, and I also had to adjust to my shift partner," says H. "Now I am free, I work when there is business. The competition is very tense. We take riders away from each other. Unfortunately there is no use ordering a meter. It is too hard to get one. Ninety percent of the private cabs would gladly buy one. It is strange that they are making its use mandatory only now, after 3 years. If I had to pay in order to be able to park in the call stalls of Fotaxi, I would gladly pay it. I don't know why this cannot be done? The company's representative said on television that they are not willing to make a deal with their competition. But they did give nine call stalls to VOLAN [Motor Transport Enterprise] Cab! At times I am simply unable to stop anywhere. The city is full of 'no stopping' signs. Therefore I am forced to stop in front of the call stall. Perhaps this will sound a bit rough but in my opinion the state cab has no right to exist in passenger transportation. It is not flexible and it is overorganized. An exclusively private cab industry should be set up. With uniform fares, fare read-out equipment, and also with services offered like the City- and Budataxi are doing it."

#### Work Brigades

Budataxi was formed in May 1982. The self-sufficient work brigade operating under the aegis of the 13th district KIOSZ [National Organization of Artisans] now has 435 passenger transport operators for members. I talked with management members Zoltan Czainko, Tamas Wohlmuth and Peter Peredi about the significance and difficulties of their enterprise.

"We were formed in order to be able to better group our resources and avoid the unnecessary running around on the streets. Ninety percent of our members are professionals who earlier worked for VOLAN or Fotaxi. We have CB radios in all of our cars and 40 percent of them also have taxi meters. We operate at a maximized rate of seven forints per kilometer, the same for all of us. Since the new leadership has taken over at City taxi we have had no problems with them. If necessary, we help out each other mutually. The relationship is not quite this good with Fotaxi. So far they have rejected all of our proposals concerning the use of the call stalls. We cannot understand why some establishments (for example, the TV, the Film factory) do not use private taxis. Even though we offer lower rate intercity service on a contractual basis, so that enterprises could save a lot of money. The lack of a solution of the car replacement problem hinders our competitiveness. The price of a 3-year old Zhiguli on

on the free market begins at 190,000 forints, and a Lada with zero kilometers can cost as much as 250,000. Practically our only solution is to buy and overhaul the cars Fotaxi sells. It also makes our work more difficult that as of the first of July we can not use the bus lane even at night, that we are not allowed to park in front of railroad stations, that we are not allowed to drive into the Margit Island, and that they charge us triple fees for call stall use at the airport. Also, if a more than 6-year-old car is in excellent condition, why should it not be used as a taxi? We do not want any confrontations with the state-operated cabs. In any case the economic competition will decide which is more viable."

This is the way management member Lajos Jenes defined the program of City-taxi which was formed in February of last year:

"Primarily, we would like to fill the shortcomings of Fotaxi in an organized form. We also pick up fares on the street, we do small parcel delivery, shopping, relay messages, anything you can imagine. Our work brigade has over 300 members. We have no rolling performance record, everybody works under his own budget. From the 400 forint per person monthly membership fee we pay the dispatchers, the telephone and advertising. There are meters in 90 percent of the cars.

The private cab has proven its right to exist. Abuses and overcharging are increasingly rare. It is true that "black cabs" and "airport hyenas" still exist, but these are no longer the typical ones. Anyway, about 200 of them were put out of business in November and December. Our complaint is that we are not receiving the 60,000 forint customs duty break small artisans are entitled to. And this would make replacement of the cars much easier. The City-taxi drivers often help the police. They catch car thieves and drivers who leave the scene of accidents. We have also organized a volunteer police group. Even so, the police are not very understanding towards us. It is also interesting that even though we are licensed by the Capital City Council, they still do not honor bills rendered by private taxis. Neither they nor other institutions do. Often the state-operated taxi drivers are looking to put us at a disadvantage. Perhaps they envy our independence. But we ought not to be fighting, rather we should come to an agreement. That would be in all our interests.

There Is No War of the Taxicabs!

Can there be peace between state and private cab drivers? I first asked Mrs Robert Olvedy, chief case worker of KIOSZ's Budapest secretariate, and Istvan Kovatko, private cab driver member of the Budapest private taxi managing committee, for answers to this question.

"The Fotaxi is absolutely opposed to any kind of negotiation. Recently they even said so in the Transportation Science Institute. Instead of moving closer to each other, we are drifting apart. This is also well reflected in Fotaxi's ad on TV: 'There is no risk with the checker!' This is more of a counter-ad. Since Fotaxi refused to authorize joint

use of the call stalls, we have been forced to establish private taxi stands. At the present time we have permits for 42 stands. In the Inner City and in other, busier locations--unfortunately--we have not been able to set up one single stand. Even though in March of last year Fotaxi authorized that if there are none of its cabs standing in their call stalls the private cab driver can pick up passengers waiting there, the police still penalize them at times like that. As our drivers say, they have 'descended' onto the private cabbies.

The private cabbies are too much in the public eye. If an abuse occurs now and then, word about it spreads right away. Fotaxi handles these kinds of matters within the company. Unfortunately there are still many privateers doing business in Budapest without a business permit. They really "charge" the passengers. We have made the recommendation that private cabs should be given some kind of a distinctive emblem by which it could be seen immediately that they have a business permit. Also the use of fare indicating devices will be mandatory as of 31 December 1984. Passenger confidence will also increase then. It is interesting that even though Fotaxi and KIOSZ still cannot come to an agreement, drivers are courteous, helpful, and do not fight with each other. The main reason for the arguments about the call stalls is that the Fotaxi has--without authorization--painted stripes on the pavement in front of and behind its stations, thereby completely shutting out the private cab drivers.

In our opinion the passengers continue to need private taxis. There is no over-supply for the time being. We trust that eventually we will be able to come to an agreement with Fotaxi. But it is not probable that we can sign a peace treaty in the near future. Equality of conditions and fair competition require not only joint use of call stalls, adequate cab replacement program, and customs duty abatement but also, for example, that Fotaxi should not keep its prices down artificially. (This in itself would not yet be unfair competition as long as they did not use profits from other branches in monopolistic positions--freight cabs, car rental--to keep the tariff artificially low. Editor.) If only Fotaxi could finally understand that its monopoly situation has come to an end and that we are partners."

Jozsef Balazs, manager of Capital City Taxicab Enterprise [Fotaxi]:

"On the request of the National Council of Small Artisans, we prepared a study plan in 1981 in which we summarized the questions related to the taxicab industry. We have not received any kind of a written reply. When private taxicabs appeared in 1982, about 600 of our drivers bought business permits. Thanks to the traffic and organizational measures and simplification of case handling, we were able to stop the loss of employees. We were never afraid of competition. In spite of not raising fares, our enterprise had a profit of 64.5 million forints last year. I think this speaks for itself.

The animosity between cab drivers has been blown way out of proportion. It is a great exaggeration that a 'taxicab war is raging in Budapest.' To some degree, we consider the competition's conditions to be uneven. The main reason for this can be sought in the economic and financial regulations. We would like it if within the limits of reasonability they would ease our burdens so that we could be even more flexible.

The private cab drivers are also complaining about unequal conditions for the competition...

Look, a tradesman at the beginning of his career and one 50 years old who already has an existence, are inherently going to be working under differing conditions. After nationalization our enterprise spent heavy tens of hundreds of millions for development, to retire an obsolete inherited stock. Between 1972 and 1981, we were still able to buy 1,200 Ladas per year, but since then we have been receiving only 600. We were forced to supplement our homogeneous car park until then with Dacias and Skodas. The competition was necessary, but it works only when private cabs also set up their own stands and get the passengers into the habit of patronizing them. We never opposed the suggestion that if the passenger is waiting at the call stall the private cab may pick him up. But it is not in the interest of the population that at a Fotaxi stand where there are five of our cars waiting, a private cab driver could pull in to be the sixth one. Obviously we are opposed to using the Fotaxi stands institutionally. By the way, the KIOSZ has rejected several of our proposals, for example, the joint use of the cab stand at Ferihegy [airport]."

[Question] After these, is there any chance of cooperation?

[Answer] In my opinion, yes. The private cab drivers are not hurting our interests, the passengers continue to trust us, the increasing number of our reservations also proves this. In the competition between state and private cabs as far as reliability, quality and safety are concerned, the traveling public has to have the deciding word.

Dr Janos Rakovszky, deputy director of the Transportation Directorate:

"The supply of cabs in Budapest has significantly improved with the introduction of private cabs. In my opinion there is no taxi war. The basic reason for the conflicts is the significantly different system of conditions of economic operation. The private cabs have a high degree of freedom, they have no firm working hours, and their financial interest is direct. The advantage of the state operated enterprise is that they have the appropriate infrastructure and a lot of experience. While the state operated enterprises can modify their rates only on the basis of advance agreement, the private cab charges free market prices, and it is sufficient for him to post the fare in his car. The private cab operator's net income is 40 percent of what he takes in, compared to 16-18 percent for the state taxi. The private cab pays about 400 forints in taxes a month, the state operated one about 11,000 forints.

At the present time Fotaxi has as many call stalls as is theoretically optimum for their car park. Therefore it would be practical to increase the number of private taxi stands. Traffic safety is a big problem. Even though the private cab driver has to take his car in for mechanical inspection every year, he is entrusted with regularly maintaining his car during the year. For the time being the domestic production of fare meters is also an unsolved problem."

[Question] How do you visualize the future of the capital city's taxi service?

[Answer] I do not like to predict. This much is certain, the competition which came into existence with the introduction of private cabs has had a good effect on the enterprises. A discussion was held recently in the Ministry of Transportation where it was also said that based on the experience of private cab service for the last 2 years the regulations should be reviewed again and where this is justified and possible certain modifications should be instituted. The suggestion has come up, for example, that the private cabs should be issued identification numbers and that it would be advisable to set a maximum price schedule applicable to everyone. In conclusion I do not think it probable that within a short time either the state operated or the private cab business will "die out". With proper circumspection the conflicts can be resolved. Sooner or later the enterprises and KIOSZ will surely come to an agreement.

And until then: the "free robbery" continues...

8584

CS0: 2500/483

## CONDITIONS FOR MOVEMENT OF MILITARY VEHICLES

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 11, 16 May 84 pp 109-111

[Text of order dated 5 April 1984 issued by the Ministers of National Defense, Internal Affairs and Transportation, on conditions for movement of military vehicles]

[Text] Item 79. Order of Ministers of National Defense, Internal Affairs and Transportation, dated 5 April 1984, on conditions for road movements of special vehicles of the Armed Forces, Citizens Militia and Prison Service, traveling in convoy, and technical conditions for Armed Forces special vehicles.

Based on art 52 par 6 and art 57 par 4 of the law dated 1 February 1983: Law on Road Traffic (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 6, item 35), it is ordered as follows:

### Chapter 1. General Provisions

#### § 1. 1. The provisions of the order apply to:

- 1) special vehicles of the Armed Forces and, with the exception of the provisions which define technical conditions, to special vehicles of the Citizens Militia and Prison Service.
  - a) automotive vehicles:
    - wheeled (armored personnel carriers, armored automotive vehicles, etc.)
    - caterpillar (tanks, armored personnel carriers, tank undercarriages, tractors),
  - b) slow-moving vehicles (self-propelled machines),
  - c) trailers (trailer equipment);
- 2) convoys of Armed Forces and Citizens Militia vehicles--three or more vehicles traveling one after the other under one command (leadership).
2. The provisions of the order pertaining to special vehicles and other Citizens Militia vehicles apply to vehicles belonging to other organs and organizational units subordinate to the Minister of Internal Affairs, with the exception of vehicles belonging to military units and enterprises.

## Chapter 2. Conditions for Movement on Roads by Special Vehicles

§ 2. 1. Special vehicles may travel on the roads listed in § 4 par 4, Minister of Transportation decree dated 8 December 1983 regarding technical conditions and vehicle research (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 70, item 317), hereinafter called "decree", if the single-axle load of the vehicles does not exceed 100 kN (10 T), and the multiple-axle load does not exceed the total of allowable load of the component axles specified in § 4 par 5 of the decree.

2. On the remaining roads the single-axle vehicle load cannot exceed 80 kN (8 T), and the multiple-axle load cannot exceed the total allowable load of the component axles, specified in § 4 par 3 of the decree.

3. Travel on roads by special vehicles with an axle load greater than that specified in par 1 and 2, caterpillar vehicles or vehicles whose height together with their cargo exceeds 4 m, is allowed after the applicable permission is obtained (§ 4).

§ 3. 1. The provisions of § 2 do not apply:

1) in cases where special vehicles are used to fight natural disasters, in rescue and order-maintaining operations, and when the security of the state or public order is endangered;

2) where travel on roads is in connection with the organization of parades and participation in them;

3) to movement of vehicles on roads which are permanent avenues of access from barracks complexes to:

a) drill grounds and other training facilities,

b) loading stations,

c) roads linking particular firing ranges or leading directly to nearby firing ranges;

4) to movement of special vehicles on roads linking firing ranges or leading directly from railroad stations to firing ranges.

2. The travel of special vehicles for purposes connected with parades (par 1 pt 2) is coordinated by the military organ with the roads administration.

3. The roads referred to in par 1 pts 2 and 4, are duly specified by the staff of the military district or the provincial office of internal affairs in the form of written determinations made with the applicable roads administrations.

§ 4. 1. In the case referred to in § 2 par 3 permission is granted:

1) relative to Armed Forces special vehicles:

- a) by the military transportation organ of the military district, if the travel takes place on roads within one military district,
  - b) by the Chief of Military Transportation Service, Main Quartermaster of the Polish Army, if the travel takes place on roads within more than one military district;
- 2) relative to special vehicles of the Citizens Militia:
- a) by the provincial office of internal affairs, if the travel takes place within one province,
  - b) by the Ministry of Internal affairs, if the travel takes place in more than one province;
- 3) relative to special vehicles of the Prison Service:
- a) by the district administration of penal institutions, if the travel takes place on roads within one district,
  - b) by the Central Administration of Penal Institutions, if the travel takes place on roads of more than one district.
2. In order to grant permission, the organs mentioned in par 1 coordinate with the applicable roads administration (§ 5 par 1) the route of travel, giving the time at which travel will take place, the place at which it will begin and end, and the technical and operational parameters of the vehicle.
3. The roads administration approves the submitted travel route or suggests another one, and specifies the conditions under which the travel can take place.
4. In exceptional situations the organs specified in par 1 pt 1 may issue permission for travel only on the basis of a road map of the Polish People's Republic (§ 5 par 2), without prior coordination of the route with the applicable roads administration, except that this administration must be notified without delay about the travel route and the axle load of the vehicles traveling through.
5. The permission specifies how long it is valid, and also the technical and operational parameters of the vehicle (vehicles), the place where the travel begins and ends, the route of travel, and the conditions under which travel may take place.

§ 5. 1. The roads administration referred to in § 4 par 2 is:

- 1) the district headquarters of public roads applicable from the standpoint of the place at which the travel begins, relative to travel on roads for which the chief organ of state administration is the Minister of Transportation;
- 2) the provincial office of city roads relative to roads within the administrative boundaries of the city in a given province, and where there is no



provincial office of city roads, the roads administration applicable to the city, or another organizational unit which performs the function of a roads administration, relative to travel on roads for which the chief organ of state administration is the Minister of Administration and Local Economy.

2. The district headquarters of public roads, on the basis of its own data and data obtained from other roads administrations, is required to annually update and add to the road maps of the Polish People's Republic, made to a 1:100,000 scale, and through the Central Administration of Public Roads, Ministry of Transportation, furnish them to the organs mentioned in § 4 par 1 pt 1. These organs can also make use of maps and other data available in the roads administrations, pertaining to road conditions and road facilities.

### Chapter 3. Conditions for Vehicle Travel in Convoy

§ 6. 1. Travel of Armed Forces and Citizens Militia vehicles in convoy formation on roads may take place:

- 1) under conditions of normal public traffic;
  - 2) when traffic is controlled;
  - 3) when roads are completely closed to public traffic.
2. The number of vehicles traveling in convoy, its length and the interval between vehicles and separate convoy elements, is established by the organs responsible for the travel of the convoy.
  3. If the convoy travel is to take place on a road closed to public traffic, the commander (leader) organizing the travel may order travel to take place in a manner which deviates from the rules of road traffic (in particular, travel with lights covered, use of dimming equipment or night vision devices, simultaneous travel in the same direction across the entire width of the road).
  4. The closing of a public road at the request of a military organ or an organ or organizational unit subordinate to the Minister of Internal Affairs requires the approval of the Minister of Transportation, relative to roads marked with an international road number, and the approval of the provincial governor, relative to other roads. This does not pertain to convoy travel in situations described in § 3 par 1 pt 1.

### Chapter 4. Technical Conditions for Armed Forces Special Vehicles.

- § 7. The provisions of the foregoing chapter describe the technical conditions for Armed Forces special vehicles, which because of their intended use cannot be constructed and equipped to meet all of the conditions specified in section III of the law dated 1 February 1983 -- Law on Road Traffic (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 6, item 35) and in the decree.

§ 8. Only those Armed Forces special vehicles may be permitted to travel on public roads that are constructed and maintained in such a way that they will not endanger public safety and road traffic, and insofar as possible, will not damage the road surface.

§ 9. 1. A special vehicle should be equipped with reliable and effectively operating equipment, especially for steering, stopping, signalling, and road illumination.

2. Trailers without brakes are permitted if their total weight:

1) does not exceed 750 kg and is not greater than half the weight of the towing vehicle;

2) exceeds 750 kg but does not exceed 25 percent of the weight of the towing vehicle;

3) exceeds 750 kg and exceeds 25 percent of the weight of the towing vehicle, provided that speed is limited to 25 km/h.

3. A trailer without brakes, or with brakes which do not ensure that it will automatically stop should the connection to the towing vehicle break during travel, should be equipped, independent of the towing device, with an additional safeguard (chain, rope), so that should the main connecting device break, the towbar will not strike the road surface, and the indispensable steerability of the trailer will be ensured.

4. The speed restriction specified in par 2 pt 3 does not apply to special vehicles taking part in military drills (lessons).

5. The provisions of par 3 do not pertain to artillery pieces and equipment erected on the undercarriages of these pieces.

§ 10. 1. A special vehicle should be equipped with the following external lights, in the number specified in the decree:

1) driving lights -- an automotive vehicle whose construction makes it possible to reach a speed exceeding 40 km/h;

2) passing lights -- an automotive vehicle and a slow-moving vehicle;

3) directional signals -- a wheeled automotive vehicle;

4) stop lights -- a wheeled automotive vehicle;

5) front positional lights -- an automotive vehicle and a slow-moving vehicle;

6) rear positional lights -- an automotive vehicle, a slow-moving vehicle, and a trailer;

- 7) rear reflector, other than triangular -- a wheeled automotive vehicle;
  - 8) rear reflector, triangular -- trailer (trailer equipment);
  - 9) front reflector --trailer (trailer equipment).
2. The following lights may be used:
- 1) one driving and passing light -- caterpillar automotive vehicles and slow-moving vehicles;
  - 2) clearance instead of positional -- caterpillar automotive vehicles, slow-moving vehicles and trailers;
  - 3) reflector instead of positional -- trailers (trailer equipment)
- if, because of the construction or the intended use of these vehicles, equipping them with driving and passing lights in the number specified in the decree, or with positional lights, is not possible.

§ 11. 1. A special vehicle should be equipped with:

- 1) a mirror (mirrors) enabling the driver to see the road in back of the vehicle, unless for reasons of construction or military needs it is not possible to put on one or both mirrors;
- 2) a horn signal which gives off a steady and not-ear-piercing sound.

2. The provision of par 1 does not pertain to trailers.

§ 12. 1. A special vehicle should be marked front and back, in a way which would make it visible to other road users, with a sign made of reflecting material, vehicle-yellow in color, and in red color for the rear sign.

2. The sign described in par 1 should be located in the front and the rear of the vehicle on the left side at a distance 40 cm from the side clearance, and in exceptional cases, in the middle, and not higher than 180 cm or lower than 60 cm from the road surface. Trailers should be marked with only one sign located in the back.

3. An attachment to the order gives a sketch of the sign (par 1).

## Chapter 5. Final Provisions

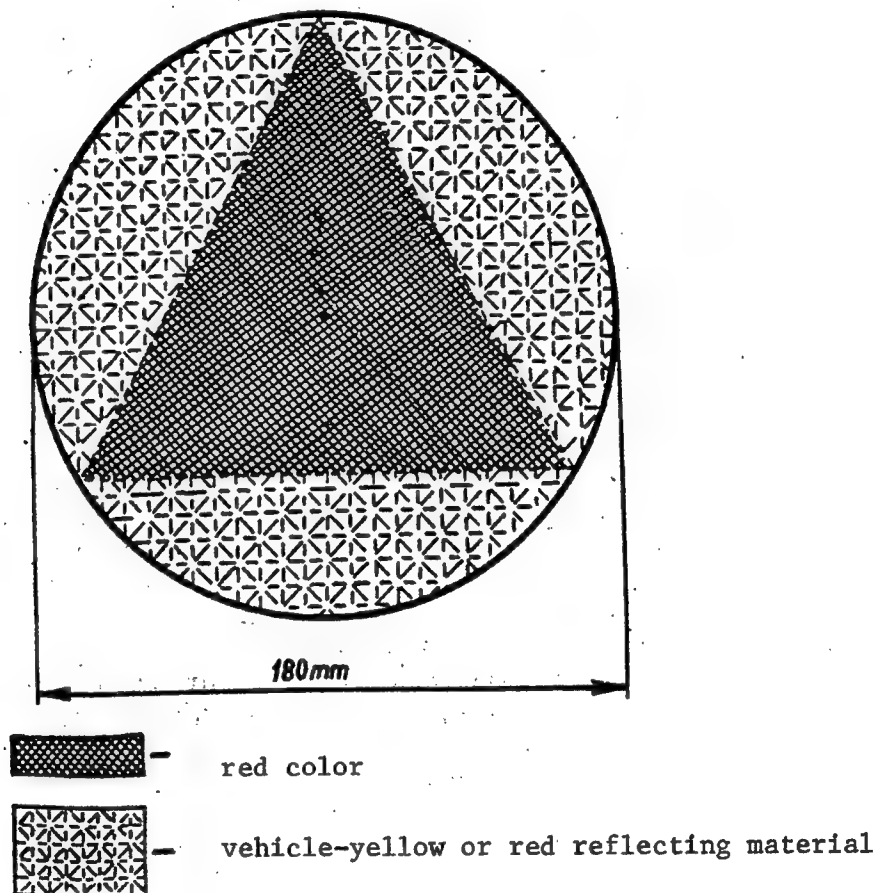
§ 13. Responsibility for damage to roads and bridge facilities caused by movement of special vehicles or convoys is outlined in separate regulations.

§ 14. The order becomes effective on the date of publication.

Minister of National Defense: /s/ F. Siwicki  
Minister of Internal Affairs: /s/ (for) K. Straszewski  
Minister of Transportation: /s/ J. Kaminski

Attachment to Order (item 79) dated 5 April 1984, by the Ministers of National Defense, Internal Affairs, and Transportation.

Special Vehicle Sign



Note: The sign should be placed with the tip of the triangle upwards.

9295

CSO: 2600/1118

RESULTS OF RECENT AIR FORCE CONFERENCE REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Jun 84 pp 1, 5

[Article by Lt Henryk Wierski: "Aviation Development, Its Place in the National Defense System"]

[Text] The "Warszawa" first fighter regiment was joined 23 August 1944 into the direct front operations in the region of the Warecki-Magnuszewski bridgehead. The date related to this important event, which initiated our people's air forces' path of liberation, marks the day of the annual aviation day observances and is an inspiration to many training events.

One of these, coming out of a rich program of celebrations of the upcoming 40th anniversary of the people's Polish aviation, was a historical conference set up in Poznan at the instigation of the air forces political administration. The leading subject, which was treated in detail, consisted of a presentation of the development of this branch of the armed services over the past 4 decades, including the many transitions which took place during that period and which gave shape to the current picture, role, and place of military aviation in the national defense system, insuring security and peaceful development.

Taking part in the conference alongside the air force party-political and administrative activists and those of other armed forces branches' aviation were representatives of central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense, military academies, scientific institutes related to the army and aviation, the Polish air club, and Lot Polish Air Lines, as well as, among them, Brig Gen Docent Dr Engineer Mieczyslaw Sikorski, deputy chief of the army Main Technical Inspectorate; Brig Gen Tadeusz Kejder, deputy chief of WOPK on political affairs; Brig Gen Pilot Andrzej Rybacki, deputy chief for line (personnel) affairs; and Brig Gen Pilot Prof Zdzislaw Zarki, commandant of the AKG's aviation section. A group of veteran pilots consisting of activists of the aviation seniors' club and the Union of Former Military Career Men, was also invited.

A delegation of the Soviet Army was also present, headed by Lt Gen Valentyn Serebryakov and Mjr Gen Aleksander Maslov.

The opening event was delivered by Gen Dyw Tytus Krawczyc, chief of the air force, who presented the creation and basic developmental stages of military aviation during the 40 years of the Polish People's Republic. Those present also heard addresses on special problems delivered by deputy air force chiefs. Col Jan Celek, deputy for political affairs; Brig Gen Michal Polech, deputy for line affairs; and Brig Gen Zdzislaw Pietrucha, deputy for technical affairs and materiel, presented in turn the major issues of party-political work, the technical development of the air force in conjunction with its impact on tactics and methods of training, and the 40 years of evolution of the technical supply services.

The scientific communiques presented, for example, by officers Stanislaw Bachlaj, Antoni Milkiewicz, Aleksandr Musial, Mieczyslaw Redzinski, Aleksandr Werla, Florian Grzemski, Wladyslaw Fremieg, and Wladyslaw Kosiewski also served as a basis for discussion. They discussed in a manner cutting across many areas certain issues related to military aviation from 1944 to 1984, presenting, for example, the air forces' contribution to the strengthening of people's power and the socioeconomic development of the country, the efforts to upgrade the system of command, the development of aviation equipment, the aeronautical engineering service, aeronautical construction, and communications forces and the radio-electronic security of flight.

Among others, General Krawczyc pointed out the great importance of the multi-lateral brotherly assistance of the Soviet Union and its role in the creation and later development of the LLP, and he related this to the history of the air force. He pointed out that it was right inside the USSR that our first air strength was formed, that the first formations were based on the material foundation of Soviet equipment and weapons, as well as the command-training and instruction staff which consisted mainly of Soviet officers. To a great extent this also applies to the first few years after the war. The friendship and comradeship of being brothers in arms, created during the joint battles waged against the Nazis, bonds which were bolstered and developed throughout the period of mutual service and work during peacetime and still exhibiting many different forms today, are still an important factor of the defense strength of both armies, which work together within the Warsaw Pact and carry out similar training exercises, realizing shared ideological goals.

The air force is a very important component of the country's defense structure and features a great deal of modern technology and great combat force and efficiency. Over the past 40 years the air force has been an armed forces branch committed to a decisive, multistrata process of improvement. This also applies to operations in the sphere of leadership, administration and management, training and inculcation, and the management of men and materiel. From the first few days of the existence of the LLP, or people's Polish aviation, as Lt Celek pointed out in his address, high priority was given to operations in the realm of the moral and ideological training of soldiers, the formation and development of socialist commitment to attitudes of patriotism and internationalism, and a civic sense of responsibility for the fate of the country.

We see the concrete results of this, for example, in the very numerous instances where air force members exhibit support for the society and the national economy, such as the well-known air-installation projects using helicopters, their participation in battles against natural disasters, the annual help they extend to agriculture, and the universal participation of staff, soldiers, and civilian employees in various social projects. Many career members of the air force take active part in civilian party groups, in PRON groups, and social organizations, and several dozen of them went to make up the new roster of recently elected people's councils. Ideological training continues to be the focus of attention, because the main link in the aviation structure as always is the human individual, and the basic factor essential to broadly conceived combat readiness and efficiency, alongside knowledge, skill, and equipment, is deep ideological motivation to carry out defense obligations. The discussion also contributed to the richness of the conference. In this way a great deal of orientation material was present, after it was appropriately compiled, and this material will be used in the training and moral-development activity of the air force.

10790

CSO: 2600/1112

PRESS MARKS FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH USSR

AU071356 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1222 GMT 7 Jul 84

[AGERPRES Headline--"Under the Sign of Romanian-Soviet Manysided Collaboration, to Mutual Interest, in the Interests of Socialism and Peace"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7 July 1984--In an article under the above heading which marks 14 years since the signing of the new Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, SCINTEIA of 7 July highlights that this important political-juridical document has developed the provisions of the former treaty signed in 1948, and has provided the framework for amplified bilateral relations on multiple planes over a longer period of time, opening for them broad and productive prospects.

Showing that the provisions of the treaty meet the Romanian and Soviet peoples' major interests as well as the interests of the general cause of socialism, peace and collaboration worldwide, SCINTEIA assesses that the period elapsed since the signing of the document has proved its special significance for the strengthening of the Romanian-Soviet friendly ties and of close collaboration between the two countries both bilaterally and internationally.

The newspaper further shows: The treaty's provisions are a crowning of the long-standing traditions of friendship between the two peoples, between their democratic, revolutionary forces that cooperated more than once in the struggle for attaining their aspirations after freedom and progress. Cemented in the last part of the Second World War through the blood shed both by the Romanian and by the Soviet soldiers in the fights waged shoulder to shoulder for driving away Hitler's army from Romania, for liberating Hungary and Czechoslovakia and eventually for crushing Hitler's war-machine, the Romanian-Soviet friendly and cooperative links have been raised to a qualitatively superior level in the years of socialist and communist construction. The common character of social system, the unity of basic goals and aspirations, the interests of peace and understanding in Europe and in the world have proved a powerful, unshakeable binder of these fruitful ties.

Underlain by the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance, this collaboration makes an important contribution to building the new system in the two countries just as to the general fight of peoples throughout the world for peace and progress.



Experience has proved that a decisive role in the ever ascending course of the Romanian-Soviet relations has been played by the links of friendship between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and especially by the interviews and contacts between the party and state leaders of the two countries, by the summit talks which have each time resulted in decisions apt to steadily enrich collaboration as a whole.

This year, the anniversary of the treaty is celebrated shortly after a highly significant event in the continually upward course of the Romanian-Soviet cooperation. The working visit RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to the USSR, and the talks he conducted with Constantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Bringing to the fore the lasting and profound character of the feelings of valuation and esteem between the Romanian people and the Soviet people, the satisfaction for the steady development of mutual relations, the visit ended in the adoption of highly significant decisions, making outstanding contributions to further developing the fruitful links of collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Today, SCINTEIA further shows, on this anniversary, one can assess with special satisfaction that the Romanian-Soviet ties develop continuously, economic collaboration being highly dynamic. The fact is significant in this respect that the Soviet Union has constantly been first in Romania's international economic relations as a whole and that the exchange of material goods virtually doubled from one 5-year period to another, and to substantially rise from now on too. The conclusion of long-term agreements--as was convenanted--are apt to open prospects to and confer stability on these relations to the end of capitalizing the two countries' possibilities to a greater extent and ensuring their steady progress. Highly efficient forms of collaboration are the joint building of important units both in Romania and in the Soviet Union, and the cooperation in domains of great importance for the development of production forces.

Intensifying bilateral collaboration, Romania and the Soviet Union also cooperate closely on a multilateral plane, within CMEA. The recent CMEA economic summit endorsed important decisions the translation into fact of which is apt to solve, through concerted efforts, major problems of economic development.

Romania and the Soviet Union also strengthen their collaboration in the international arena, working alongside the other socialist countries, other states, the progressive and democratic forces everywhere for safeguarding mankind from the nuclear threat, for halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, for detente and understanding among nations. In the light of these major concerns, the two countries declare for the liquidation of conflicts and of the hotbeds extant in various parts of the world, for the negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, for the peaceful development of all peoples, SCINTEIA says in conclusion mentioning that the Romanian people nurture the belief that the Romanian-Soviet ties of manysided cooperation will further develop to mutual interest, in the interests of socialism, peace and understanding throughout the world.

ROMANIA LIBERA also runs an article marking the anniversary, which highlights the ascending course of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the USSR, writing inter alia:

This course significantly shows in the fact that the Soviet Union has constantly ranked first in Romania's foreign economic relations as a whole. So, for instance, the value of bilateral trade increased more than 10 and 1/2 times over 1950-1980. Meanwhile, the structure of commercial exchanges went through deep quality changes, with emphasis commercial [as received] upon the growth of mutual high-tech goods deliveries, as the share of machinery and tools rose from 15 to 40 percent over the last 2 decades. Over the current 5-year period, in keeping with the agreement on trade and payments over 1981-1985, commercial exchanges will be twice as large as those in the previous 5-year period.

Highly significant is the ever more marked drive of collaboration between our countries towards higher forms of cooperation in and specialization of production, in keeping with the guidelines set in this respect under the long-term programme until 1990, as well as under a series of economic agreements signed of late.

Foremost among cooperation forms is the joint building of economic units. The continuous expansion of like forms of cooperation is illustrative of the common wish to more efficiently capitalize, to mutual advantage, the possibilities available and the experience the two countries acquired in building the new system.

The anniversary marked today, the newspaper concludes, is an opportunity for the Romanian people to reassert its feelings of warm friendship for the Soviet peoples as well as its confidence that the relations of close collaboration between our parties and countries will further develop, marked by a new and powerful expansion in all fields of activity, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of peace and socialism worldwide.

CSO: 2020/104

ROMANIA

ANDREI, ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION DISCUSS GULF WAR

AU052010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 5 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/7/1984--A delegation of the League of Arab States, led by Hamid Alwan, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, paid a visit to Romania. The delegation was made up of Taieb Sahbani, Tunisian deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of Kuwait and Jordan.

The delegation was received by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania. During the interview, major issues of the current international situation, especially the evolution of the war between Iraq and Iran were approached. On the occasion, stress was laid on the importance of an immediate cessation of the military actions between the two countries, of the cessation of the escalation of the conflict in the Gulf, of the withdrawal of troops within international borders, and it was stressed that everything possible should be done to stop the war and settle the conflict between the two neighbour states, peacefully, by negotiations, in the interests of their peoples, of the cause of peace, good neighbourhood and stability in that zone and throughout the world.

CSO: 2020/100

## WARTIME TIES WITH NAZI GERMANY EXPLAINED

AU100935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 9 Jul 84

["Press Articles: 'The 23 August 1944 Antifascist and Antiimperialist Revolution of Social and National Liberation, Historic Oeuvre of the Romanian People'"  
--AGERPRES Headline]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9 July 1984--Exceptionally important event in the history of the Romanian people, which ushered in a new era, the 23 August 1944 act with its crucial strategic and political consequences which hurried the downfall of the Nazi Reich, ranks among the decisive events of the Second World War.

Prepared and determined by home realities--just as any revolutionary leap-- 23 August 1944 marked a new stage in the millenium-old struggle of the Romanian people for national independence and social progress, a stage conditioned by internal and international circumstances in the years of the Second World War; likewise, 23 August 1944 was part of the efforts made by peoples to remove the danger posed to their free existence and development by the ideology and policies of expansion and aggression of the fascist states, of Nazi Germany first of all.

In order to understand the revolutionary phenomenon which took place in Romania in 1944, the complex relations between the internal and external factors should be approached first. It is a fundamental truth--thoroughly substantiated by the materialist-historical conception--that the internal factor plays a decisive role in the development of a historical process while the external factor may speed up or slow down the pace of a suchlike process. Emphasizing this basic principle of historical materialism, we must point out that to identify the internal factor with the cause and the external one with the condition would mean to offer a simplified image of much more complex facts. Under certain historical circumstances, the external factor may take precedence over the internal factor, as it happened in Romania, in September 1940. The setting up of the military fascist dictatorship at that time was not the outcome of a progressive fascization of the Romanian society--fascism remained a political phenomenon which had no roots and or a mass base in Romania, a mere agency of Nazi Germany--but the direct consequence of Romania's political, diplomatic and military isolation in the summer of 1940. The then international context--Wehrmacht's military aggression and the lack of any resolute resistance to the Nazi's Reich's aspirations after hegemony--left Romania without the possibility to pursue her

traditional policy based on the defence of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, in collaboration with all the states interested in fighting territorial revisions, the policies of conquering and oppressing peoples and in setting up a system of collective defence. The fact that Berlin placed Romania in its orbit was not an expression of a free Romanian option. Romania did not join Nazi Germany but was pushed into its orbit by unfavourable external circumstances. Temporarily the external factor gained upon the internal one and this is the only explanation of the setting up of the military-fascist regime, under the shadows of German bayonets.

In Romania, the communist party was the most consistent and energetic force working to combat internal and international fascism. Drawing on the experience of the antifascist struggle in the '30s, the Romanian Communist Party made a fine analysis of the situation created in Romania by the advent of the military-fascist dictatorship, of the forced collaboration with the Third Reich, and of the participation in the war against the Soviet Union and the other states of the antifascists coalition and reached the conclusion that it was only the Romanian nation that could save the Romanian nation.

The Romanian patriotic and antifascist forces, led and organized by the Romanian Communist Party took advantage of the crises of the Nazi army following the defeats on the battlefields, to overthrow Antonescu's regime and turn arms against Nazi Germany. In defining the national-international rapport which underlay the Romanian revolution of August 1944, it is crystal clear that the military defeats of the Reich were not the cause, but alongside the intensification of the underground movement, provided favourable conditions for the success of the Romanian people's fight. Started already when the Wehrmacht was still victorious, that fight was generated and determined by the historical conditions of the Romanian society itself.

The 23 August 1944 act, and Romania's subsequent participation in the antifascist war were the contribution made by the Romanian people to the crushing of the Third Reich, of fascism. This contribution had an international significance. Through its strategic and political consequences, the historic act of 23 August 1944, brought the end of the Second World War 200 days nearer.

The antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation was an event of outstanding importance both nationwide and worldwide. Fighting for their own freedom, the Romanian people fought for all people's freedom threatened and encroached upon by fascism. The 23 August 1944 victory was the triumph of all antifascist forces, a glorious page in the national history and a luminous page of world history.

## CEAUSESCU RECEIVED KOREAN YOUTH DELEGATION

AU161954 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 16 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16 July 1984--On Monday, 16 July, at the Neptun Resort, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received a delegation of the Union of Socialist Working Youth of the CC of the Organization, now on a Romanian visit.

The head of the delegation conveyed to the leader of the RCP and Romanian state, Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm friendly salute on behalf of Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea, and to the friendly Romanian people new successes in the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and asked that Kim Il-song be conveyed his friendly salute, lots of good health and personal happiness and wished the friendly Korean people ever greater successes in the construction of the socialist society and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. At the same time the head of the RCP and Romanian state noted that the Romanian visit by the delegation of the youth of the Democratic Korea was an expression of the traditional relations established between the two countries, parties and peoples.

During the talks the sides pointed out the important role incumbent on the youth organizations in the two countries in helping educating the youth in a patriotic and revolutionary spirit, and their contribution to strengthening the Romanian-Korean collaboration and to the friendly Romanian people and the Korean people knowing better each other. President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that it is the duty of all the progressive forces, of the youth in particular, to work in union and do everything to halt the arms race and pass on to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, and to provide a lasting peace in the world.

On the occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed once again the solidarity of the Romanian people with the just struggle of the Korean people and highlighted the active support to the proposals issued by Kim Il-song as concerns the reunification and setting up of an independent peaceful Korea, and to the recent initiatives for reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula.

During the talks the sides also pointed out the special importance of the International Youth Year--to be marked in 1985 under the slogan "Participation, Development, Peace"--the youth organizations in the two countries being resolved to make their full contribution to its organization.

Nicu Ceaulescu, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of the Communist Youth [UCY] and Vasile Bontas, secretary of the CC of the UCY, participated.

Mun Ben-Sam [spelling as received], charge d'affaires ad interim of Korea in Bucharest, attended.

CSO: 2020/104

## BRIEFS

BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT RECEIVES ROMANIAN ENVOY--La Paz AGERPRES 7 July 1984--An exchange of messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Hernan Siles Zuazo, president of the Republic of Bolivia, took place in La Paz, when the latter received Ion Ciucu, Romania's ambassador to Bolivia. A message of salute was conveyed from Romania's president. It was stressed that Romania followed with interest and understanding the efforts made by the Bolivian people and its government to democratize the country, to develop economically and socially. President Herman Siles Zuazo eulogized President Nicolae Ceausescu's personality, the efforts made by Romania's leader for the maintenance of peace in the world, for the consolidation and development of the relations of collaboration and friendship among all the countries of the world, whatever their social system. [Text] [AU071805 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1714 GMT 7 Jul 84]

ATHLETES PREPARE FOR OLYMPICS--Bucharest, AGERPRES 14 July 1984--In view of the forthcoming Olympic Games in Los Angeles, Romanian sport people tested their training level in national championships as well as in test-matches played within international competitions. So, for instance, during Romania's international athletics championship, held over 10-12 July and entered by 585 contenders, a series of national records were set and world-standards performances registered. [Excerpts] [AU141723 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1710 GMT 14 Jul 84]

MOROCCO'S YATA RECEIVES RCP DELEGATE--Rabat AGERPRES 16 July 1984--On behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial friendly salute and best wishes of good health and success in his activity were conveyed to Ali Yata, secretary general of the Parti Du Progres et du Socialisme of Morocco. Ali Yata vividly thanked and asked that on his behalf and on that of the party's leadership Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed feelings of respect and admiration for the fruitful activity carried out at the service of the Romanian people, of the international peace, understanding and collaboration. The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on Ali Yata by Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, in Casablanca. During the interview the sides informed mutually on the current preoccupations of the two parties and exchanged opinions on international issues. [Text] [AU161952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 16 Jul 84]



NAJDAN PASIC DISCUSSES PROBLEM OF LCY UNIFICATION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Najdan Pasic: "The Self-Management Basis and Class Basis of the Unity of the League of Communists"]

[Text] It is of the greatest importance to a revolutionary party, to the ideological and political vanguard of the working class that it have a real ability to exert a decisive influence on the basic course of social development and in a given stage of development realize successfully the main goals of its revolutionary program.

That capability depends directly and in greatest measure on the degree and character of the ideological and political unity which is achieved in the party ranks and is confirmed and verified in everyday practice. Which gives particular importance to the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee where it was decided to stage a broad debate, and the obligation was placed on party members "to seek and find a specific solution to the problems in their own respective milieu and in society as a whole" (from the Resolutions of the LCY Central Committee), always mindful, of course, of the task of strengthening the LC's unity in action as well.

In the very early phases of the dramatic conflict with Stalinism, with the bureaucratic hegemony in the communist movement, our party gained some valuable knowledge and made a lasting commitment with respect to its own role, and it is precisely that which has made the LC capable of being the architect and guide in building the society of socialist self-management in the decades to come.

More than a quarter of century ago the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia observed: "Yugoslav communists must not and do not wish to use the apparatus of the state to take power instead of the working class and the working people. Now the socioeconomic interest of the working class, of the working people producing with social means of production, and the socialist consciousness based on that interest, can be the basic and lasting prime mover of social progress."

A great deal of water has gone over the dam since then. In our society a unique historical transition has been made from the statist system of party-government monolithism to a system based on the pluralism of interests in

self-management. What was stated in the program about the attitude of the party toward the exercise of government power cannot be regarded even today as an "outdated phrase," nor ashamedly abandoned as a political Utopia. On the contrary, as it was put by Comrade Kardelj (in "Pravci razvoja politickog sistema socijalistickog samoupravljanja" [Lines of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management]):

"Our political system is founded on self-management and the delegate system, that is, on delegations of self-managing communities in associated labor and in all other areas of the work and creation of society. Within that context the League of Communists is less able than ever before to be the vehicle of some political monopoly, that is, to govern society on its own."

But if it is not and must not be an organization of power holders and power lovers, the League of Communists has remained an exceedingly important and indispensable factor in the exercise of the power of the working class and of all the working people organized through self-management.

#### The Battle Is Not Won With Programmatic Declarations

The battle for the authentic government by the producers over the entire process of production and distribution and for the appropriate forms of socialist self-management democracy is not being waged in a vacuum without social classes and ultimately it is not won by programmatic declarations, by the resolutions of political forums, nor even with constitutional and legal norms (though, of course, all of this has its necessary place in political life).

The constitutional norms which prohibit government investment funds and other forms of state capital did not, nor could they, automatically transform government property into social property disposed of and managed by the associated producers themselves. The low level of actual economic and technological integration of associated labor and the serious economic disturbances on the domestic and international markets created space for quite extensive administrative regulations and for excessive and improvised government meddling in the flows of expanded reproduction. Thus a kind of revival of state capital takes place on that basis before our eyes, and new forms of bureaucratic-technocratic power and political tutelage over the workers in associated labor come into being. Associated labor in all its segments becomes utterly dependent upon government and political centers which decide arbitrarily about the conditions for the conduct of economic activity. Thus the social power of the stratum of managers and professional politicians, having gained independence, becomes strong once again and in view of the present distribution of power in the Federation, it takes on the form of a decentralized or, more accurately, polycentric statism.

Dependent upon unstable and constantly changing "conditions for the conduct of economic activity," geographically splintered by the autarkic policy of the various sociopolitical communities, and confined to the narrow limits of the immediate "empirical" interests dictated by the day-to-day struggle for survival, associated labor has been unable to examine and express its lasting and authentic class interests, which are related to self-management

integration throughout the entire economic space of Yugoslavia and to optimum economic employment of social resources and income precisely with a sense that they do belong to society.

That kind of situation makes it imperative that the League of Communists resolutely and without hesitation take the side of the working class in its ever fiercer conflict, both open and camouflaged, with those who represent statist and bureaucratic-technocratic tendencies in aspirations to preserve the positions of arbitrary power over associated labor.

Taking advantage of the strength of its entire organization, numbering 2 million members, and its acknowledged position in the political system of socialist self-management, and relying on all the organized socialist forces, but above all on the working class itself and its vital interests, the party must enter the fray to change the present unfavorable position of associated labor, a position which is in direct contrast with the constitutional designs and definitions.

The platform and the detailed program for that kind of action already exist. That is the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program adopted nearly a year ago.

It is a very significant fact that the program did come into being, that it did clearly delineate the roads toward resolving even those most complicated and most delicate problems which for a long time now have been exerting heavy pressure on our economic and social life, and that that document was accepted so to speak unanimously and supported by all the socialist forces, by the self-managers and by the entire democratic public opinion in our country.

#### The Ability of the Socialist Forces Put to the Test

And now the anniversary of the program's adoption is immediately before us, while behind us are results with which we truly cannot be satisfied. Very little, almost nothing, has been undertaken and achieved of what was supposed to be done in this first stage of carrying out the program. Several successive meetings of the LCY Central Committee debated how to guarantee and speed up adoption of the necessary and urgent implementing measures, and the slowness and hesitation of the competent authorities were criticized. A change of behavior, greater responsibility and greater effort by all responsible officeholders and agencies and as a practical matter all members of the party were demanded. But the situation in implementing the program has not been essentially corrected, and in the meantime there have even been attempts to explain and justify this kind of situation and even to accept it as a necessary price which supposedly must be paid in order to preserve the principle of decisionmaking by consensus on all issues, even when it comes to measures to implement a policy already agreed to.

All of this represents yet another very serious warning that the capability of the organized socialist forces to successfully realize the key goals of their policy has been put to a serious test and placed in jeopardy. It is a question of carrying out a program which was adopted as the primary social

task, the most important task in this stage, and a task in which the entire country has a vital interest.

The League of Communists must not and cannot reconcile itself to this kind of situation if it wishes to preserve the status of the leading revolutionary force in society, to preserve the confidence of the working class and the working masses, all of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, which at precisely this moment it is calling upon to undertake a difficult new battle.

In any case, among the first on the list of those to whom serious critical remarks and demands should be addressed must certainly be the Central Committee itself along with its Presidium.

We cannot constantly take as our points of departure an assumed unity, assumed responsibility, an assumed awareness of the need to be mindful not only of one's separate and momentary interest, but also of the lasting common interest, and finally an assumed willingness and determination to consistently and responsibly carry out the resolutions we adopt in all communities and at every point of the complicated mechanism of political and self-management decisionmaking.

As for the League of Communists itself, the point of departure should be the objective contradictions in which it is operating and the influences and pressures to which it is exposed here and now. Along with the accurate observations and warnings that the principle of democratic centralism is not being consistently respected and enforced in the League of Communists and in its forums and that a process of federalization of its complicated, but unified organization has gained great momentum, it should be stated where the roots and causes of these phenomena lie and what should be undertaken in order to protect or revive that degree of unity and conscious discipline in the ranks of party members without which the League of Communists will not be up to its great historical responsibility.

Unity of the LCY--A Condition for Rights and Freedoms To Be Preserved and Developed

The revolutionary unity of the League of Communists was never in the past an impediment to broadening the democratic rights of the working masses or to achievement of the full equality and freedom of this country's nationalities and ethnic minorities. Nor is it even today. On the contrary, it is an indispensable condition for those rights and freedoms to be preserved and further developed, provided, of course, it is a unity which expresses the unity of the authentic interests of Yugoslavia's working class.

Every party which is in power or which exerts a direct influence on the direction and content of government policy is exposed to the strong pressure of various conflicting interests and to the danger of bureaucratization and merging with the apparatus of government power. This is a general pattern which applies to all parties, including the League of Communists. But the more active the entire rank and file and the more the focus of the LC's activity at all levels is truly carried from direct exercise of power and the

functions of operational management to activity through the self-managers and delegates in the political mechanism, the less danger there is of that bureaucratization.

But the converse is also valid: the top-heavy mode of operation through forums, the horizontal rotation of personnel within narrow groups of political professionals, the transfer of real decisionmaking from the delegate structures to coordinating bodies and informal, but very powerful, groups of leaders and communication with the rank and file in the form of reporting positions and decisions already taken--all of this leads to the creation and the deepening of a gap between the leadership and the rank and file and opens the door wide to passivization and bureaucratization of the party itself.

Those adverse tendencies may intensify dangerously under the conditions of a system of self-management and delegate democracy which has not yet been fully constructed. Several factors characteristic of the political system as a whole operate in that direction. It is an evident fact that party leadership bodies and the organization as a whole are overburdened with the functions of operational management and that they are operating in a close alliance with the executive and administrative apparatus of government power at the level of all sociopolitical communities. And operating from positions of power and in the context of a quasi-partnership with government bodies and agencies directly detracts from the ability of the League of Communists to achieve democratic mobilization of the masses, to stimulate and support their creative initiative and to encourage their criticism, which ought to be heard much more from the speaker's platform of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations.

As a consequence of the extensive and rigid institutionalization of opposed empirical interests, the self-management pluralism of interests is becoming more and more to yield way to political pluralism--not party political pluralism to be sure, but to a pluralism of institutions representing interests. But the effects are to some extent similar: the process of expression and reconciliation of interests is being politicized more and more and carried from the sphere of self-management into the sphere of government and politics.

Because of the existence of the state-ownership relationship toward the means of reproduction, the bodies of sociopolitical communities are taking upon themselves the role of political protectors and spokesmen of the special interests of "their own" enterprises, "their own" local, regional and national [that is, at the level of the republics and provinces] economies. The conflicts of interest are taking on a markedly political character and are resolved by political means. The conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts is being transformed, not by accident, into negotiation and bargaining on the basis of the balance of power of the moment, and not on the basis of common interests examined and conceptualized in advance.

If we are dealing with a conflict of interests of concentrated republic-province "capitals" on the unified Yugoslav market (which Comrade Kardelj spoke about as a possible danger in his study entitled "O protivrecnostima

drustvene svojine" [On the Contradictions of Social Ownership])--then conflicts of this kind take on an additional political sensitivity and gravity and can become a powerful potential source of wrangling among the nationalities. Can it be that the well-known events in the early seventies as well as later did not demonstrate this to us clearly enough?

#### Advocates of Partial Interests Are Not Fighting for the Working Class

The less present and active the LC is in the various self-managing and delegate bodies, and the more closely it is hitched up in tandem with the government and political administrative apparatus, the more politicized conflicts of interest will be carried over directly into the League of Communists and especially into its leadership bodies. If we are prepared to face the facts, we will admit that precisely this kind of basis of internal divisions in the League of Communists has been deeply undercutting its unity and its ability in everyday political battles, both in large things and also in small, to furnish an example of consistency and responsibility in carrying out the policy that has been adopted and to demand the same of all and of everyone.

After all, how is it possible to clear up ideological disputes and reconcile views in a consensus if rigidly institutionalized and politicized partial interests stand behind them?

Just as partial interests do not add up to the common interest of society, so also the political representatives and advocates of those partial interests cannot be good and reliable strategists in the struggle for the authentic historic interests of the working class. Yet they are the only foundation on which this country's socialist future can be built, and this means the true freedom and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities unified within it. The League of Communists must without hesitation withdraw its confidence in the strategists of political egocentrism, both at the local level and the level of the nationality.

The most reliable road on which the unity of Yugoslav communists can be built and consolidated is the concrete and broadest political struggle to carry out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, which is to say the status envisaged by the constitution for the workingman and for associated labor in general.

Inseparable from that is the work already undertaken on a critical assessment of the functioning of the political system in order to remove from it everything that impedes and prevents that system from being an instrument of maximum effectiveness at the service of the working class and its vital needs.

The "Views of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on the Manner of Resolving the Outstanding Issues and of Overcoming Differences in Views on Certain Essential Questions Concerning the Socioeconomic and Political Relations and Development of Self-Management" states that the Presidium furnish the initiative for forming a special working group associated with the Council for the Social System commissioned to "analyze achievement of the fundamental commitments of the system of production relations of socialist self-management...." That is certainly a good and useful idea. But here we must not

repeat the error we have committed in the past of letting that work go on too long behind closed doors and of allowing only scanty occasional information to come out concerning it, so that even the quite small group of party activists are left uninformed, not to mention the party rank and file and the broadest democratic public.

#### The LC Is Not Making Use of Its Advantages

We must not overlook for a moment, however, that the present situation of crisis is enflaming the ambitions and encouraging the activity of all the opponents of socialist self-management. Various social quacks who claim to have in their pocket a ready-made prescription for getting out of the crisis are becoming very active and popular. It is mainly through our own fault that the chorus of radical critics of the system is becoming ever more numerous and more and more outspoken. Even members of the party, whether they like it or not, often join it, rivaling their ideological and political opponents in criticism of the ins and outs of the present situation.

Why is this happening? Because even party members who hold the most responsible positions appear before the public mainly with vague diagnoses and moral and political recommendations about how one should behave, and they reserve the dialogue about possible solutions for working groups and forums, waiting for some "definitive" solutions to crystallize out of them, which would then be communicated to the public.

The broader and creative capabilities within the party and within society, which are ready to become actively involved, have been placed in a position of passive eavesdropping and suspense. As though we had forgotten many of our constructive democratic experiences from the time of working on the constitutional amendments and on the new constitution.

In the complicated present situation, which demands maximum mobilization of all the socialist forces, the League of Communists is not making sufficient use of two of its great advantages which make it capable even today of responding to its historical task:

- i. on the one hand the large and still untapped moral and political capital it has that political force which is actually inseparable from the immense historical achievements of Yugoslav society over more than four decades; and second
- ii. the profound attachment of party members and the enormous majority of this country's working people to the achievements and goals of the development of socialist self-management. When they are dissatisfied, when they criticize, when they demand certain changes in personnel and institutional changes, they are not appealing for some strong bureaucratic hand, nor for a return to capitalism, but rather they are calling for more rapid and decisive movement in the direction of achieving the historic goals set down in the LCY Program and in this country's constitution. That is why the League of Communists has no reason to shrink from the broadest democratic dialogue or from the political activation of the masses. On the contrary, this is the road



of its own revitalization and a strengthening of its influence on the main direction of the overall movements of society.

If the League of Communists resolutely takes its place at the head of the fight against bureaucratic-technocratic tutelage over associated labor and consistently pursues that course, we will soon reach a worker majority in the LC and a higher degree of actual ideological unity and unity in action within its ranks and especially in its bodies of leadership. In that case we can look with confidence and optimism at the outcome of the battle which has begun over the key issues of our future development of socialist self-management.

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